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RELIGIOUS CAUSES OF THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION IN MARYLAND

By Richard A. Gleissner

In 1689 a party of anti-proprietary planters in Maryland took up arms against Lord Baltimore. Calling themselves the Protestant Associators, the revolutionists issued a declaration justifying the uprising and in which they bitterly indicted the proprietary government for its discriminatory policy toward Protestantism. Indeed, the Associators considered the Protestant religion in danger of total eradication. They accused Baltimore of allowing none but Catholic churches to be built; that he seized churches and chapels "which by the . . . charter should be built and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of the Kingdom of England," and turned them into places of "Popish idolatry" much to the inhabitants' "great regret and discouragement of our religion"; and that lands that were "piously intended, and given for the maintenance of the Prot-

estant ministry, become escheats, and are taken as forfeit, the ministers themselves discouraged, and no care taken for their subsistence." Protestant settlers, presumably because of their religion, were imprisoned for long periods without trial; even murders were committed by "Papists upon Protestant without redress." Hence, "to defend the Protestant religion among us, and to protect and shelter the inhabitants from all manner of violence, oppression and destruction," the Associators struck against the regime.[1]

On the basis of this declaration, of petitions to the King, and reports and correspondence of the revolutionists, historians agree that religious considerations figured prominently among the causes of the Glorious Revolution in Maryland. One scholar says that "religion was of paramont importance in the issues that brought it about;" another that the revolution was "a distinct triumph for Protestantism;" a third that Marylanders "were moved by the same motives as . . . [revolutionists] in England; they had the same fear—call it unreasonable if you will—of Popish persecution and domination, and the same devotion to the cause of liberty, as they understood it and to Protestantism."[2] Indeed, no one has questioned the verity of religious causation or disputed the anti-proprietary party's genuine dedication to the cause of Protestantism. However, certain problems remain unresolved. Why, for example, did the leaders speak of a "Protestant religion" and fail to define what they meant? In light of the Act of Toleration of 1649, how was Baltimore able to pursue an intolerant religious policy? What did the Associators do for Protestantism after 1689 that the proprietor had not done? Close scrutiny of events in Maryland during the last quarter of the seventeenth century suggest solutions which in turn do great damage to the traditional interpretation of the revolution.

Since the founding of the colony, contrary to the Associators' polemics, Lord Baltimore had not interfered with the growth of dissenting sects or imposed any limitation on the freedom of his people to worship as they chose. The Act of Toleration

[1] W. H. Browne, et al., eds.,*Archives of Maryland* (70 vol.; Baltimore, 1883-), VIII, pp. 101-107. Hereafter cited as *Archives*.

[2] Albert W. Werline, *Problems of Church and State in Maryland* (South Lancaster, 1948), p. 18; Wesley F. Craven, *The Colonies in Transition, 1660-1713* (New York, 1968), p. 274; Bernard C. Steiner, "The Protestant Revolution in Maryland," *American Historical Association Annual Report for 1897* (Washington, 1898), p. 285.

guaranteed that "No person or persons whatsoever within this province . . . professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall henceforth be any ways troubled, molested or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion."[3] As a consequence, Anabaptists, Presbyterians, Independents, Quakers, and Anglicans settled in Maryland in large numbers. The proprietor acknowledged in 1676 that fully three-fourths of the people were dissenters, "those of the Church of England as well as those of the Romish being the fewest."[4] For this reason, he said, "it will be a most difficult task to draw . . . [the majority] to consent unto a law which shall compel them to maintain ministers of a contrary persuasions to themselves."

But toleration threw the burden of sustaining Protestantism on the individual churches. Most of them willingly shouldered the responsibility; others, notably the Church of England, did not. Anglicans never undertook missionary activities comparable to those of the Quakers, and indeed down to the Glorious Revolution the English church barely survived from year to year in the colony. One historian of the colonial episcopate claimed there were twenty-six parishes in Maryland in 1679, half of which had ministers, but evidence contradicts this. In 1676 the Anglican minister John Yeo informed Canterbury that only three "of us that are conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England" served in the colony.[5] Twenty years later there were but nine parish churches. If the other seventeen ever existed, their disappearance subsequent to 1676 is sufficient testimony of the disinterest of their congregations and of English ecclesiastical authorities. What truth there was, therefore, in the many assertions of the Associators that Protestantism was on the decline applied primarily to Anglicanism and not at all to Protestantism as a whole.

At no time during the Glorious Revolution did the revolutionists define what they meant by "Protestant religion." This in itself was not significant, if the anti-proprietary party represented a cross section of the various sects. In that case circumstances demanded imprecision. However, there is reason to believe that most of the revolutionists were at least nominal

[3] *Archives*, I, pp. 244-247.
[4] *Ibid.*, V, pp. 133-134. Kenneth L. Carroll, "Maryland Quakers in the Seventeenth Century," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XLII (December, 1952), pp. 297-313.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 130-132.

Anglicans, that is paid allegiance to the smallest Protestant sect.[6] They may have intended from the outset of the revolt to raise their own church to a preeminent position once the proprietary government was out of the way. With this in mind and because of their minority position in the colony, there were even better reasons to hide behind the nebulous words "Protestant religion." But their disinterest in the lowly state of Anglicanism before 1689 excludes this as an explanation. On the other hand, by pitching anti-proprietary propaganda at the largest number of people, accusing Baltimore of deliberately obstructing the growth of Protestantism and planning to liquidate all Protestants, the Associators might unite the people in at least passive support of the revolution.[7] As a matter of fact, the greater number of Marylanders viewed the overthrow of the proprietor with equanimity. Other than the march on St. Mary's City in late summer of 1689 and a bloodless siege of Mattapany where the governor and council resided, the province remained quiet during the revolt. Since the Protestant Associators were a small band and had no way of judging the temper of the people, they had to create an issue attractive to the majority of inhabitants in order to forestall any possible counter action on behalf of the proprietor. Hence, they posed as defenders of all Protestants, playing upon latent anti-Catholic bigotry infecting all the North American colonies; like William III they liberated Maryland from "popery and lawless tyranny."[8]

The provisional government that ruled the colony from 1689 to 1692 did nothing to improve the condition of Anglicanism or any other denomination. Whether the Associators had

[6] Wesley F. Craven says, "It is impossible to speak in any but the most general terms regarding the religious affiliations of the people. Many doubtless were nominal Anglicans in the sense that they had no fixed allegiance to one of the dissenting sects or to the Roman Catholic Church." Craven, *Colonies in Transition*, p. 274.

[7] In March 1689 a rumor sped through Maryland that the Catholics and Indians planned a general massacre of all Protestants. Though it proved to be false, this tale produced panic in the colony and still agitated the people in summer. *Archives*, VIII, pp. 70-87. J. W. Fortescue, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1574-1736* (35 vol.; Vaduz, 1964), 13, Nicholas Spencer to William Blathwayt, 27 April 1689, p. 32. Hereafter cited as *CSP. Col.*

[8] For a discussion of the political grievances of the Associators, see Michael Kammen, "The Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, 55 (Dec., 1960), pp. 293-333, and Beverly McAnear, ed., "Mariland's Grevances Wiy They Have Taken Op Armes," *Journal of Southern History*, 8 (1942), pp. 392-409.

authority to do so or not was a question settled by the King in a letter of instructions sent early in 1690.[9] The revolutionists were ordered to stand fast pending a "full examination of the proprietary charter." In the spring of 1691 the Crown took control of the government of Maryland because the colony "is fallen into disorder and confusion, by means whereof not only the public peace and administration of justice . . . is broken and violated, but also there is an utter want of provision for the guard and defence of the said country against our enemies, and thereby the same is exposed and like to be lost from the Crown of England."[10] William appointed Lionel Copley to be governor and gave detailed instructions to him concerning the establishment of the Church of England.

Copley's commission and instructions concluded the era of religious toleration in Maryland; the anti-Catholic bigotry used so effectively by the Associators to maintain peace in the colony during the uprising received official approbation in 1691. Copley was required by the Crown to receive the oath of supremacy and the test from all officeholders, thereby excluding Catholics from the Assembly and local office. He must look after the Anglican churches already built and construct more so that the "colony shall by God's blessing be improved and that besides a competent maintenance . . . be assigned to the ministers of each church."[11] In addition, he must "take especial care, that . . . [God] be devoutly and duly served within your government, the Book of Common Prayer as it is now established read each Sunday and holiday and the blessed sacrament administered according to the rites of the Church of England." But the new governor was not the man to accomplish the task of establishing the church, to oversee the drafting of an ecclesiastical bill responsive to the needs of the church, or to steer it through a legislature composed of lukewarm Anglicans and thereafter promote the church's growth. Bad tempered, given to picking quarrels and seeing foes where none existed, Copley became the satellite of extremists among the Associators shortly after his arrival in St. Mary's in 1692.[12]

[9] *CSP. Col.*, 13, King to the Government of Maryland, 1 February 1690, p. 215.
[10] *Archives*, VIII, pp. 263-270, for Lionel Copley's commission.
[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 272-280, for Copley's instructions.
[12] Bernard C. Steiner, "The Royal Province of Maryland in 1692," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, 15 (1920), pp. 123-168.

William, III. 1650-1702.
Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection.

The Assembly of 1692 passed "An Act for the Service of Almighty God and the Establishment of the Protestant Religion within this Province" that seemingly reversed the neglectful attitude of the Associators toward the English church; but appearances disguised a tenuous ecclesiastical framework. The act suffered from three principal deficiencies. First, it provided that as many parishes be laid out by the county courts "as the conveniency of each respective county and the situation of the same will afford and allow of."[13] Should the courts fail to comply, they were liable to a fine; yet the law did not set a definite date for the accomplishment of this operation. Second, it authorized a yearly assessment or tithe of forty pounds of tobacco per taxable person for the support of the clergy; but another provision postponed its collection until March 1694. Third, the law said nothing about the recruitment of clergy; presumably each vestry would have to make its own arrangements.

[13] *Archives,* XIII, pp. 425-430.

Beyond establishing the church in law neither Copley nor the Assembly would go. Until his death in late summer of 1693, the governor was more interested in his feuds with the provincial secretary Sir Thomas Lawrence, and the King's deputy auditor Edward Randolph. The House of Delegates too found other affairs of greater importance. Indeed, having included a clause in the church law incorporating Magna Carta into the body of Maryland law, the delegates had good reason to ignore the church.

For over forty years the planters sitting in the lower house had struggled to limit the proprietary governor's authority and make him subordinate to their will. But Baltimore effectively circumscribed the legislature by right of his charter. When the Glorious Revolution swept away both him and the political provisions of the charter, the Crown substituted a royal governor and instructed him to administer Maryland as far as possible in partnership with the Assembly. Still, even after 1691 the veto remained an essential part of the governor's powers, and fear of renewed executive tyranny continued to agitate the planters who now called themselves Associators and dominated the lower house after 1689. They sought, therefore, to control the executive and enlarge the scope of independent legislative authority by appealing to English tradition. Hence the Act for the Service of Almighty God declared that "the Church of England within this province shall have and enjoy all her rights . . . wholly inviolable as is now or shall be hereafter established by law, and also that the Great Charter of England be kept and observed in all points."[14]

When Francis Nicholson took over in July 1694, he found the Anglican church in terrible condition. Tithes still had not been collected; the Baltimore, Talbot and Dorchester county courts had not laid out parishes; there were three churches in Calvert County, two each in Charles and Cecil, one in Kent and one in St. Mary's. Anne Arundel and Somerset had parishes on paper but none in fact. Of the nine churches built, three had resident ministers, two were served by Non-Conformists, and the rest were vacant. The new governor was a conscientious Anglican, guilty perhaps of "ostentatious piety," who nonetheless believed

[14] *Ibid.* Michael Kammen points out that the revolution "marked the culmination of the growth of the lower house as an institution in seventeenth century Maryland." Kammen, "Causes of Maryland Revolution," p. 331.

that "religious issues lay at the heart of politics."[15] This being so, it was incumbent upon him to strengthen the church and thereby ensure Maryland's subservience to the Crown's will.

The Assembly met in September 1694, and Nicholson introduced an "Additional Act" to eliminate the glaring inadequacies of the establishment law. The Additional Act enlarged the vestries because so many of the parishes covered extensive portions of the counties, provided a system of church wardens to be appointed "according to the laws of England," and settled salaries on parish clerks and sextons.[16] Further, it empowered the governor to induct ministers for the parishes when the vestries were derelict in their duty. Indeed, Nicholson was so concerned about securing clergy for all the churches that he promised "if a way can be found out to build a house in every parish for the minister . . . [to] give five pounds sterling towards building every such house in his time."[17]

Of greater relevance to the future of Anglicanism in the colony than vestries and wardens, however, was the need for central administration. To establish the church amidst a prosperous and numerous people was quite different from its establishment in a wilderness where people were preoccupied with economic security and their political leaders inattentive to the needs of the church. What was required was the firm hand of a man solely committed to its care, in other words a bishop. Nicholson understood this and, after proposing the Additional Act, suggested a plan to the House of Delegates. The governor would write to the Bishop of London asking for a suffragan. When one arrived, he would be given the commissary's office as a sinecure which would render unnecessary a special appropriation to keep him. Since the commissary was normally responsible for "quieting and securing to the rightful owners all estates of persons dying testate or intestate and for preserving the fortunes of all orphans of Maryland," Nicholson believed it to be a "judicial office of an ecclesiastical nature" well suited to a suffragan.[18]

The Associators in the lower house balked at the governor's

[15] Stephen S. Webb, "The Strange Career of Francis Nicholson," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 23 (1966), pp. 513-548.

[16] *Archives*, XIX, pp. 36, 48, 82.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 92. The Crown placed Maryland under the Bishop of London's jurisdiction by Copley's commission. *Archives*, VIII, pp. 263-270.

scheme, once more displaying their unenthusiastic attitude toward the church. It was all well and good to give the suffragan a sinecure; at the moment, however, possession of the commissary's office was in dispute and Nicholson could not bestow it on anyone. Without an independent source of income the House of Delegates would have to provide a special salary, and the Associators refused to do so. Consequently, the lower chamber agreed that a resident bishop "would be most requisite and necessary . . . [yet] it would not be convenient to invite or give any encouragement to a person of that high office and degree till we shall be in a capacity to make suitable provisions for his reception and residence here."[19]

Nicholson would not be put off. He, along with the council, insisted again that by the nature of the commissary's office, "it is a most suitable employment and valuable encouragement for such suffragan bishop." The governor told the Assembly he would appeal to the Bishop of London. The Bishop could lay the matter directly before the King, persuade William III to appoint a suffragan, and settle the commissary's job on him. Thereby, Maryland could have its ecclesiastic, the dispute over possession of the commissary's office would be resolved, and the need for a special appropriation or extra taxes would vanish. The delegates promptly endorsed the plan.[20]

Whether Nicholson did appeal to the Bishop of London is uncertain; in any case, there is no record that the Crown ever considered the proposal. Furthermore, Nicholson had little time to devote to suffragans, commissaries, and incomes during the next few years. He was caught up in more urgent business: to reenact the establishment law after William disallowed the acts of 1692 and 1694. Along the way he encountered the Associators' stubborn insistence that the church settlement be tied to the question of colonial rights of self-government.

By incorporating the Magna Carta in the Act for the Service of Almighty God, the Associators put forward a theory of colonial government at odds with that of the Crown. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century, the mother country always considered a colony to be "an inferior and subordinate corporate body, similar in type to the gilds, boroughs, and trading companies of England, all of which exercised self-governing

[19] *Ibid.*
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

Maryland State House (Reconstructed), St. Mary's City, Maryland.
Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection.

powers but within certain defined limits."[21] If the Crown recognized the applicability of Magna Carta in America, this inferior-superior relationship would be upset. Thus, when copies of Maryland's church laws reached London, the Lords of Trade asked Attorney General Sir Thomas Trevor to evaluate them. Trevor immediately recognized the danger implicit in the clause about Magna Carta. He said in his report that the words seemed "to establish the Great Charter of England to be the law in Maryland, and I know not how far this will agree with the constitution and other laws of the province or with the royal prerogative."[22] The Privy Council also saw the threat, and in January 1696 William vetoed both acts of the Assembly.[23]

[21] Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Background of the American Revolution* (New Haven, 1964), p. 31.

[22] *CSP. Col.*, 14, Attorney General to Lords of Trade, 11 December 1695, 627. Leonard W. Labaree, *Royal Government in America* (New Haven, 1930), pp. 4-5.

[23] *Ibid.*, Order of King in Council, 4 January 1696, p. 636.

The disallowance aroused the Maryland House of Delegates because it intensified the Associators' fear of executive autocracy. In July 1698 the house passed a second establishment bill that did not mention the Magna Carta. However, near the beginning it asserted that Marylanders possessed all rights and liberties under the "fundamental laws" of England. Nicholson knew the bill did not meet the Crown's objections to the 1692 act and suggested the words be changed to "ecclesiastical fundamental laws."[24] Thereby, he revealed his ignorance of the real issue: the lower chamber's determination to use the church settlement as a means of guaranteeing the right of provincial self-government.

The house rejected Nicholson's amendment out of hand. It informed him that it could not "at present recede" from the terms of its bill. Moreover, since the establishment was a matter of great moment to the delegates, it recommended "that the further proceeding as to the accomplishing the same may at present be referred till another Assembly."[25] Because the Assembly knew of Nicholson's personal desire to reenact a church law as quickly as possible, the delegates' suggestion to defer action until a later time amounted to blackmail. What is hard to understand is the logic of their tactics. Even if Nicholson acquiesced in the house bill, there was no assurance that the Crown would approve it. On the contrary, by insisting that a declaration of colonial rights be included in the bill, the Assembly made a second disallowance a certainty. Meantime, the interests of the church were forgotten by all but the governor.

Nicholson was caught in the middle. He told the council that the King would "in no wise consent to the passing" of the delegates' bill.[26] He pointed out that it was the "opinion of his Majesty's Attorney General and other learned lawyers in England that those words . . . [about] the people enjoying their rights, etc., according to the fundamental laws of England . . . would occasion them to carry all their causes to Westminster Hall." This may or may not have been the fear of "other learned lawyers" in London; it certainly was not the primary reason why the King vetoed the 1692 law or why the delegates insisted on the proviso about "fundamental laws." Actually the

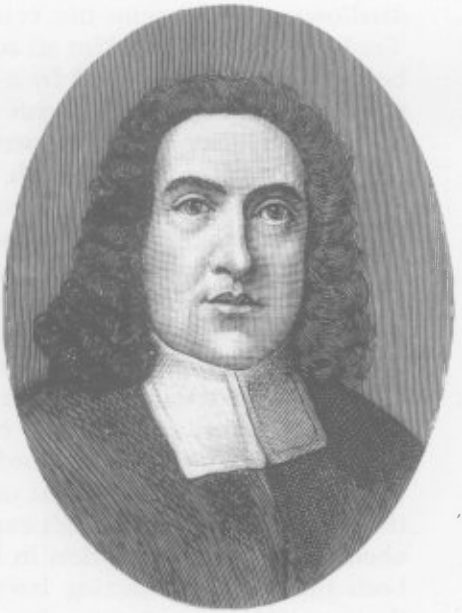
[24] *Archives*, XIX, p. 389.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 390.
[26] *Ibid.*

latter phrase was a better one for the delegates' purposes than the one about Magna Carta. It would not only include the Great Charter but more recent enactments of Parliament such as the Bill of Rights of 1689. However that may be, the lower house protested that its intransigence occurred "from honest hearts and earnest desires as well to the service of Almighty God and his Majesty as to our own rights and liberties."[27]

On July 8 Nicholson held a joint session of the legislature and told the delegates that he was sorry "to find them so stiff."[28] He reminded them that the King would veto their establishment bill if passed, and he hoped they did not question "his Majesty's hindering or debarring them of any privileges due to them as Englishmen . . . [since the King] is now actually engaged for the defence of their liberties." By the terms of their bill, he said, "they must go with their causes to Westminster Hall . . . which they would do well to consider and whether the course they are now taking would not instead of gaining the people a liberty, enslave them the more." Next day he repeated these remarks in another joint session and proposed a face-saving solution whereby the delegates might pass a "Declaratory Act of their Rights" separate from the church bill. If they did so, he promised to pass it and "use his utmost interest to get his Majesty's royal assent thereto."[29] But, he added, the King categorically refused to allow any act of a colonial legislature mixing two different things, namely ecclesiastical and temporal matters.

The delegates returned to their chamber on the 9th, drew up a defense of their bill and sent it to the governor. "We have with the utmost care and scrutiny considered the clause in the law for religion," they wrote, "and as we are earnestly desirous to propagate the same out of the sense of duty to God, loyalty to his most sacred Majesty and imitation of his excellency's most noble and worthy example, so we conceive we ought not altogether to be unmindful of the rights and liberties of our selves and those we represent."[30] They warned Nicholson not to misunderstand their purpose as he apparently had when offering his amendment. Further, they were uninterested in a Declaratory Act and had, therefore, "endeavored to find an accommoda-

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 412.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 393.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 394.
[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 395-396.



Reverend Thomas Bray. 1656-1729/30.
Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection.

tion of words that may answer all intents by putting in the words 'laws and statutes of England' instead of the words 'fundamental laws' of England."

When Nicholson read the house message, he asked for clarification of the phrase "laws and statutes of England." One of the delegates who delivered the message suggested that they meant "that where the laws of this province are silent justice shall be administered according to the laws of England pursuant to an act of Assembly of this province."[31] Nicholson thought the words too ambiguous, and after further discussion the House of Delegates changed them to read "laws and statutes of the Kingdom of England in all matters and causes where the laws of this province are silent." On July 10 the governor signed this second Act for the Service of Almighty God. In its particulars it combined the provisions of the 1692 and 1694 acts.[32]

But the new establishment law brought Maryland no closer

[31] *Ibid.*
[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 398, 417; 426-430 for the text of the act.

to the erection of an official church. Trevor again recommended disallowance. "It seems not reasonable," he told the Lords of Trade in August 1697, "for all acts of Parliament in England to be made laws of Maryland by a general clause of this act." He said that if the delegates "wish to enact any particular acts of England . . . they had better send over a list of them, that the King may declare whether such acts are fit to be made laws or not." Once more then the Crown defended itself against ambitious and calculating colonists and vetoed the law.[33]

The English government blamed Nicholson for the second veto. In September 1697 the Lords of Trade criticized him for disregarding his instructions. Not only did their lordships find the laws of Maryland in "great disorder" and needing "thorough revision," but they also castigated him for passing legislation previously vetoed, namely the establishment. "You will therefore not reenact a law," they ordered, "which has been enacted before, except on very urgent occasions, nor in any case more than once without the King's express consent." Nicholson's disobedience of this injunction in his instructions had "evidently been the fault in enacting laws in Maryland, and the list of those passed in your time shows that you have not too well observed it."[34] Unfair as the censure may have been in view of Nicholson's efforts to pass a second church law in strict accord with the Crown's wishes, he had, after all, surrendered to the lower house. His preoccupation with the church had blinded him to the substantive issue. Believing that loyalty to Anglicanism promoted loyalty to the King, the governor did not perceive how fragile and tentative was the religious commitment of the Associators. They on the other hand looked beyond the immediate purposes of one law to the fundamental problem of colonial subordination to England. Their use of the religious settlement to extract guarantees of political autonomy slipped past him but not past authorities in London.

The Associators lost the battle for colonial rights when they passed a third objectionable establishment bill in 1701 and the

[33] *CSP. Col.*, 15, Attorney General to the Council of Trade, 26 August 1697, 586. Herbert L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* (4 vol.; New York, 1924), II, p. 13, says the Quakers were instrumental in procuring the second veto "on the ground that . . . [the act] declared all the laws of England in force in Maryland, which was a clause of another nature than that set forth in the title of the act."

[34] *Ibid.*, Council of Trade to Nicholson, 2 September 1697, pp. 596-597.

Privy Council drew up and submitted to the Assembly one of its own.[35] Then at last Anglicanism was established. As for the condition of the church, only through the efforts of Dr. Thomas Bray did it enter the eighteenth century with somewhat improved prospects. Appointed commissary of Maryland (though not suffragan), he visited Maryland in 1700 and did much good work among the small band of clergy. Still, the absence of a resident suffragan was sorely felt, and the church grew very slowly.[36]

Whatever else motivated Protestant planters in 1689, religion was not among the causes of Baltimore's overthrow. Sincerity of conviction can only be measured by its outward manifestations, and of the latter there were none on the Associators' part during the royal period. Religious considerations as an excuse for the revolt, on the other hand, were used by the Associators to great effect: to add credence to the many charges of misadministration levelled at the proprietary government and to prevent any popular display of support for Baltimore. Once the Crown assumed control of Maryland, however, the religious issue was laid to rest and the planters concentrated on political matters.

[35] W. L. Grant and James Munro, eds., *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series* (6 vol.; Nendeln, 1966), II, pp. 362-363. Objections to the third bill centered on purely religious grounds. Osgood, *American Colonies*, II, p. 13.

[36] *Archives*, XXV, p. 11. Craven, *The Colonies in Transition*, pp. 276-277 and Osgood *American* Colonies, II, pp. 27-30, discusses the opposition of Governor Seymour to even the residence of a commissary in the province.

TO PRACTICE LAW: ASPECTS OF THE ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS REFLECTED IN THE SHORT-RIDGELY CORRESPONDENCE, 1816-1821

Edited by GEORGE GREEN SHACKELFORD*

THOMAS JEFFERSON'S advice to young men who solicited his opinions on both general and legal education has become well-known through frequent publication,[1] but there are few instances when the somewhat more objective viewpoint of one of Jefferson's own law students have survived. The Short-Ridgely Correspondence in the Maryland Historical Society affords such an instance in a singularly sustained series of fifteen letters from William Short to his nephew, Greenbury William Ridgely.

Because there were no law schools in America before 1779, aspirants to the bar who did not study in London's Inns of Court prepared themselves for their profession by "reading law" under an established attorney who *gratis* or for fees or clerical services directed their study in the books of his library or office. In this manner between 1762 and 1767 George Wythe[2] directed Thomas Jefferson's legal studies, performed partially in the

* The author acknowledges with thanks the help of Dr. Richard Walsh of Georgetown University in editing the letters which follow from William Short to Greenbury W. Ridgely which are in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. It is doubtful that any letters from Ridgely to Short or the nineteen additional letters from Short to Ridgely listed in Short's record of correspondence, now in Short Papers of the Library of Congress, have survived.

[1] Commencing with his cousin Philip Turpin in 1769, Jefferson advised a host of young men concerning the preparation, study and practice of law. See Dumas Malone, *Jefferson the Virginian* (Boston, 1948), pp. 65-74. Besides William Short, these included John Banister, Jr., John Wayles Eppes, Garland Jefferson, James Madison, John Minor, James Monroe, Thomas Mann Randolph, Jr., Robert Skipwith and Archibald Stuart. Many of these read law under his supervision.

[2] George Wythe (1726-1806) was admitted to the bar of the Virginia General Court at the age of 20 after study at home and at William and Mary. Jefferson described him as "the first at the bar" during his time. As a Virginia Burgesses, who signed the Declaration of Independence, Wythe declared that the colonies of British North America were coordinate nations with Great Britain and the Kingdom of Hanover and that the British Parliament's authority was limited

former's office at Williamsburg and partially in absentia at the latter's estate in Albemarle County. As a part of the reformation of Virginia institutions during the American Revolution, for which Wythe deserves almost as much credit as Jefferson, there was created at the College of William and Mary the first American professorship of Law in the person of George Wythe. It was hardly coincidental that one of Wythe's first formally designated students (1780-1781), as distinct from clerk-readers, was a youth named William Short, whom Jefferson called his "adoptive son" and whose education he prescribed for many years.[3]

His course of study ranged the entire field of English jurisprudence, including common law actions and procedure, real and personal property, contracts, evidence, equity, criminal law, wills, and the Rules of Parliament. Besides lectures and reading in the above, he wrote and read speeches before "Mr. Wythe's tribunal."[4] After about two years, during which young Short also read in Jefferson's library at Monticello, he applied for admission to the Virginia bar. His examiners were Jefferson and Wythe who respectively found him "duly qualified" on September 30 and November 2, 1781.[5]

Between 1781 and 1810, Short devoted himself to public service in a series of positions which, if they did not win for him

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to its own nation. With Jefferson and Edmund Pendleton he revised the laws of Virginia in 1779. As one of the three judges of the Virginia High Court of Chancery, 1778-1806, Wythe was usually referred to by his title Chancellor. Jefferson read law under Wythe, 1762-1765, and directed his own study for almost two more years. The William and Mary Board of Visitors appointed Wythe Professor of Law and Police on December 4, 1779. This first chair of law in the United States was established twenty-one years after the Vinerian Professorship of English law at Oxford. Resigning his professorship in 1789, he lived in Richmond, where he died in 1806, probably the victim of murder by arsenic administered by a nephew. See Julian P. Boyd, "The Murder of George Wythe," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd. series, XII (Oct. 1955), pp. 513-542.

[3] Thomas Jefferson to John Trumbull, Paris, June 1, 1789, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (17 vols. to 1967, ed. by Julian P. Boyd, Princeton, 1950-), XV, p. 164. Hereinafter cited as *Papers of Jefferson*.

[4] See Albert J. Beveridge, *The Life of John Marshall* (4 vols., Cambridge, 1916), I, pp. 157-161, 174-176; also see George G. Shackelford, "William Short, Jefferson's Adopted Son, 1758-1849" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Virginia, 1955), pp. 44-45.

[5] Short was admitted to the bar of the Virginia General Court on Feb. 18, 1782, after examination by Jefferson on Sept. 30, 1781, and by Wythe on Nov. 2, 1781. See Thomas Jefferson, Certification of William Short as Attorney, Boyd, *Papers of Jefferson*, XV, p. 164.

wide renown, constitute a remarkable contribution to the young republic: Member of the Virginia Executive Council of State, 1783-1785; Jefferson's private secretary in France, 1784-1789; Chargé d' Affaires at Paris, 1789-1792; United States Fiscal Agent in Europe, 1790-1796; Minister Resident to the Netherlands, 1792; Treaty Commissioner to Spain, 1793-1795; Minister Resident to Spain, 1794-1795; and Minister Resident to Russia, 1808-1809. After Short returned to America in 1810 to live at Philadelphia, he shunned public office and devoted himself to managing the large fortune which he had made through astute investments in securities and western lands and to participating in such scholarly and philanthropic activities as the American Philosophical Society and the American Colonization Society.[6] Disappointed in his desire to marry the widowed "Rosalie," Duchesse de la Rochefoucauld-d'Enville, the bachelor took a keen interest in the education of his kin.

One of these was Greenbury William Ridgely, the son of William Short's sister, Elizabeth, who had accompanied their brother, Peyton Short,[7] to settle near Lexington, Kentucky. Elizabeth married in 1797 Dr. Frederick Ridgely, who recently had come from the Western Shore of Maryland to seek his fortune in the new commonwealth beyond the Appalachians. Greenbury Ridgely was born at Lexington on May 12, 1798

[6] Shackelford, "William Short," pp. i-iv *et passim*. See also George G. Shackelford, "William Short: Diplomat in Revolutionary France, 1785-1793," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, CII (Dec., 1958), pp. 596-612.

[7] William Short (1758-1849) was the eldest and Peyton Short (1761-1825) the second of the seven children of William Short the Fifth (*c.* 1735-1782) of Spring Garden, Surry Co., Va., and of his wife Elizabeth Skipwith Short (1738-1771). Both sons attended William and Mary, and both were members of Phi Beta Kappa; but Peyton's indifference to serious study angered William. Peyton and his three younger sisters emigrated to Kentucky in 1785. Three years later he married Maria Symmes, the daughter of John Cleves and Ann Tuthill Symmes. They had two sons, John Cleves and Charles Wilkins Short. After her death Peyton married Mrs. Jane Churchill, by whom he had two daughters. Symbolic of the rough and tumble of early Kentucky days and of Peyton's part in them are his friendship with Daniel Boone and General James Wilkinson, his early descent of the Mississippi River, and the fact that he was named correspondent when Louis Robards sued Rachel Donelson Robards (the future Mrs. Andrew Jackson) for divorce. Peyton served in the Kentucky State Senate, 1792-1796. His extensive land speculation led to bankruptcy in the wake of the Panic of 1819, when his brother William, although himself heavily committed in land investments in western New York state, salvaged a part of Peyton's holdings. See Thomas Speed, *The Political Club [of] Danville, Kentucky, 1786-1790* (no. 9 in Filson Club Publications, Lexington, 1894), pp. 77-79; and Shackelford, "William Short," pp. 25, 34, 59, 493-494, 501-504, 535-538.

where he attended grammar school and was graduated with honor from Transylvania University in 1816.[8]

Careless speculations by William Short's Kentucky kin caused them often to depend on him for financial assistance, along with which they had to accept massive doses of their opulent relative's counsel on such matters as handwriting, spelling and how to learn French. It was in these circumstances that Greenbury Ridgely sought and William Short gave advice concerning the best manner of legal education in 1816-1821.

Adopting the viewpoint of many of his friends, Short concluded that, in spite of Bishop James Madison's efforts as president, the College of William and Mary had failed to realize the promise of its Revolutionary reformation.[9] Short's acquaintance with Judge James Gould[10] of Litchfield, Connecticut, formed

[8] Dr. Frederick Ridgely (1757-1824) was born in Elkridge, Anne Arundel County and served in the War of the American Revolution as a surgeon for a Virginia rifle corps. He studied medicine under Dr. Philip Thomas in Delaware and at Philadelphia before emigrating to Kentucky in 1790. He was Surgeon-General in General "Mad" Anthony Wayne's army between 1794 and 1799. In 1797 he married in Kentucky Elizabeth Short (1766-1822), the daughter of William Short the Fifth and Elizabeth Skipwith Short. In 1799 he became Professor of Materia Medica, Midwifery and Practice of Physic at Transylvania University in Lexington, where he delivered the first course of medical lectures west of the Appalachian Mountains and was on its first Board of Trustees. See Robert Peter, *The History of the Medical Department of Transylvania University* (no. 20 in Filson Club Publications, Lexington, 1905), pp. 10-11; Laura Cochrane *et al.* (eds.), "Life of the Reverend Mr. Ridgely," *History of Caroline County, Maryland* (n.p., n.d.; hereinafter cited as Cochrane, "Ridgely"), p. 302; and Shackelford, "William Short", p. 536. The name is variously spelled Ridgely and Ridgeley. Although Short was not consistent in use of the first and preferred form, it is used in this article.

[9] The Right Reverend James Madison (1749-1812) as President of William and Mary, 1777-1812, had attempted to implement the educational reforms of the Revolutionary period and he had strong claims to scholarship in Religion (he was the first Bishop of Virginia, 1790-1812), Natural Philosophy and Mathematics, and Law (he had studied under Wythe in 1771). Short's aged Latin teacher, the Rev. John Bracken, succeeded Madison as President of the College, but ill health caused him to resign four years before his death in 1818. John Augustine Smith (1782-1865) became the first lay President of William and Mary, 1814-1825, from which he himself had been graduated in 1800. He studied and lectured (before and after his presidency) at the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons. President Smith was opposed on the Board of Visitors by John Tyler, Sr., and in Virginia generally by Thomas Jefferson, who was launching the University of Virginia. See Lyon G. Tyler, "John Augustine Smith," *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography* (5 vols., New York, 1915), II, pp. 160 *et passim*.

[10] James Gould (1770-1838) was graduated from Yale in 1791. After clerking and reading law under Judge Chauncey in New Haven, he was a student at Tapping Reeve's Litchfield Law School before admission to the bar in 1798. In the same year, Gould became Reeve's partner in conducting the school, for whose success as a national institution he was most responsible during the first third of the nineteenth century. After Reeve's death, Gould continued the

while both were vacationing at Ballston Spa, near Saratoga, New York, enhanced his enthusiasm for the Law School which Gould's friend, Judge Tapping Reeve[11] had founded in that pleasant Connecticut town. This school had grown out of the customary practice of "reading law." So many youths had sought Reeve as their mentor that in 1784 he commenced to hold formal classes in a small one-story building next to his residence. Reeves' appointment to a judgeship in 1798 prompted him to take his friend and former student, Judge Gould, as a partner in conducting the school, which, remarkably enough, never granted a degree.

Between 1784 and 1833 the legal academy flourished. The two masters trained between ten and twelve hundred students, including such notable personages of the early national period as Aaron Burr, Oliver Wolcott, John C. Calhoun and John M. Clayton. The fourteen-month course generally resembled that which Wythe had given at William and Mary, combining practice in a moot court with theoretical lectures, even though neither at Litchfield nor at William and Mary after 1789 was there as much concern or instruction in the evolution of law. Instead, the emphasis was more pragmatic, more programmatic. This was almost a century before the modern system of the case method of instruction, and students copied their lectures into their notebooks as closely as possible word for word. On Saturdays, they were examined on the work of the previous week.[12]

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school alone until 1833. He served also for several years as judge of the state Superior Court. His text on Common Law Pleading was long a standard work. See H. W. Howard Knott, "James Gould," *Dictionary of American Biography* (20 vols., ed. by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, New York, 1928-1937; hereinafter cited as *DAB*), VII, pp. 453-454.

[11] Tapping Reeve (1744-1823) was graduated from the College of New Jersey (Princeton) in 1763 and taught unofficially and then as a tutor there until 1771, when he went to Hartford, Connecticut to read law under Judge Root. Admitted to the bar, he located at Litchfield and became a prominent attorney before the Revolution. He favored the patriot cause in 1776, the adoption of the federal Constitution in 1787, and, although Aaron Burr's brother-in-law, the policies of High Federalism, 1793-1812. He was indicted in 1806 for libelling President Jefferson, who is said to have quashed the charges. Reeve was appointed judge of the state Superior Court, 1798-1814, and elevated to the chief justiceship of the Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors, 1814-1816. His text on Domestic Relations (Baron, Femme, Parent, Child, Guardian and Ward) was long a standard work. See George E. Woodbine, "Tapping Reeve," *DAB*, XV, pp. 468-470.

[12] Reeve had law clerks and readers before he formally opened his school in 1784. The fourteen month course was broken by an autumn and spring vacation

To a youth of nineteen at the beginning of the Era of Good Feelings, and especially to one accustomed to tall tales of how the Bluegrass was won and how it prospered, rigorous training for an eastern law practice could appear to be antiquated quill-pushing. For a Kentucky lad such as Greenbury William Ridgely, his fellow Lexingtonian Henry Clay could not have failed to be an exciting exemplar. But there were dangers in emulating this flawed hero which were more apparent to Greenbury's uncle, William Short. A congenital doubter, Short doubted Clay and the fearless optimism which dominated the national character between 1815 and 1819. The lustre of public office, of effortless charm, of easy success, and of winning but superfical professionalism—these might well constitute a siren's song that would lure the young man into treacherous channels of momentary political preferment, into concealed Saharas behind the touted wealth of new territories. The older man saw, and because of his long residence in Europe shuddered at, the cultural deprivations of the frontier. Furthermore, as a disgruntled investor in lands located in western New York, he was properly skeptical of the frontier as a way to wealth.

Which career, then would Greenbury Ridgely choose? One at the bar might resemble a tortoise race. One could only speculate whether acceptance of a territorial appointment would serve as the springboard to material wealth and power or to oblivion.

Philad[elphi]a, Dec. 11, 1816

[Dear Greenbury]

I have been much gratified, my dear Greenbury, by receiving your letter of the 2nd inst[ant]. I had looked for it with some impatience, & imputed its delay to the cause you have assigned, the various avocations of a first establishment [at Litchfield]. I hope however you have not allowed them to postpone also your writing to your parents, for their impatience would make them

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of four weeks each. The fees were $100 for the first year and $60 for the second. Gould is said to have trained 1,024 students. Between 1784 and 1798 he taught alone about 200 students. Besides *fns.* 11 and 12 *supra,* see Samuel H. Fisher, *The Litchfield Law School, 1775-1833* (no. 21 in Publications of Tercentenary Commission . . . of Connecticut; New Haven, 1933), pp. 1-3, 6-10, 25, 27; G. H. Hollister, *History of Connecticut* (Hartford, 1857), pp. 601-603; and William D. Lewis, ed., *Great American Lawyers . . . , A History of the Legal Profession in America* (8 vols., Philadelphia, 1907), II, pp. 468-571.

William Short. 1759-1849.
Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection.

very unhappy if they were to be so long without hearing from you. Your good & anxious mother has no doubt figured to herself a thousand mishaps that might befall you on your way, & her affectionate maternal heart would realize them all, if she does not learn from yourself that you have arrived safe. I hope & trust therefore that you wrote to her immediately on your arrival & that you will keep her regularly & constantly informed of your state and condition at Litchfield.

I am pleased to see that this place has equalled your expectations. Indeed I have long thought that it must be the best place in America, for what you appropriately call the "forensic gladiator" to prepare himself in. There is one thing however which you should always bear in mind, & that is that the advantages held out to a student by any place are of little consequence, compared with his own exertions. It is after all from them alone that he can hope to derive the skill & ability that shall make him rise to eminence and shine through life. And thus we see obscure individuals, with few of the advantages of instruction,

who have even to steal time from their daily labors in the field perhaps or shop, & who shine as brilliant stars, merely from their own industry & invincible patience & long perseverance in the same pursuit, whilst the sons of fortune, basking in the sunshine of ease & wealth, & fostered by colleges, universities, &c., who remain mere ignorant dull apes. But when both industry & opportunity unite, there can be no doubt of the issue, whether the pursuit be law, physics or divinity or anything else that requires the energy & operation of the mind.

With respect to the study of the law there is one observation which I will make to you, or rather one caution which I will give you founded on my own experience. Scientific students [of the law] are apt to despise the mere technical & practical past of the business—that is the process or forms of pleading. I had studied with our great Chancellor Wythe, following his course of law lectures for the appointed time. I also studied particularly under the direction of Mr. Jefferson—and had received the applauses of both. I had plead[ed] causes also in a simulated court, where our professor presided, & I was considered able and eloquent, &c. In point of general knowledge I am sure I may say without vanity that I [was] prepared more than most of the Lawyers who then were practicing at the bar. I had read and made copius notes on Coke['s] Lyttleton.[13] I had done so with Blackstone, of course.[14] I had read the best reporters, but I was miserably ignorant of the mere technical

[13] Sir Edward Coke (1552-1634), the English judge and legal writer is best known for his four *Institutes of the Laws of England*, the first one of which is a reprint of Littleton's *Tenures*, compiled by Sir Thomas Littleton (1422-1481) and first published at London *circa* 1481. Although Jefferson in 1762 called Coke "an old dull scoundrel," in his maturity he advised students to "begin with Coke's 4 institutes," which he described as "the first view of the whole body of law worthy of being studied" and "the fundamental code of English law." Jefferson's library included in 1780-1781, when Short used it most, Littleton's *Tenures* and Coke's First and Second *Institutes*. See Millicent Sowerby, *The Library of Thomas Jefferson* (5 vols., Washington, 1952), II, pp. 217-218.

[14] Sir William Blackstone (1723-1780), the English judge, is best known for his *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, published between 1765 and 1769. Although Jefferson owned a copy, he designated it as inferior to Coke as an "elementary book" and only "an elegant digest" of what those reading law under his own (and presumably Wythe's) instruction "will then have acquired from the real foundations of the law." See Sowerby, *Library of Thomas Jefferson*, II, pp. 228-229. He deplored the fact that Coke's "black-letter text and uncouth but cunning learning got out of fashion, and the honied Mansfieldism of Blackstone became the students' hornbook," attributing to it the "toryism" of the "young brood of lawyers." See Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, Feb. 17, 1826, *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (10 vols., ed. by Paul L. Ford, New York, 1892-1899; hereinafter cited as *Writings of Jefferson*), X, p. 376.

forms. These were known to the clerks of courts & to every pettifogger, & I despised them. Insomuch that when I was beginning, or thinking of beginning the practice, in the General or Supreme Court of course, looking down as derogatory on the county of inferior courts, I happened to be in the interior of the State & there being sollicited to appear in a cause[15] which much interested the parties—my license as a Gen'l court lawyer authorized me to appear in the inferior courts—I was put to a complete non plus, when the cause was called, on being asked by the Clerk what plea I would put in. Fortunately the Clerk answered it himself, as it was a mere matter of course, & I was saved the most complete mortification, as I had not the least idea of what was the step to be taken. Had I continued at the bar this w[oul]d have been a lasting lesson to me, and I will not offer it to you for your service. Attend the court whenever it sits at Litchfield; see how they proceed; write in any lawyers office whom you may find there, & who may wish you to aid him in copying his pleadings for him. Do everything in fact to see the common *routine* of the procedure, so as to escape the mortification I was so near encountering.

I am sorry you did not give me more detail as to your journey. I heard once of you by a Col. Trimble of Kentucky[16] who lodged in this house.[17] He told me that before he left N. York a gentleman came there from Eastward who told him he had seen you at New Haven. I should like to know if you stopped there and if you saw Gen. Humphreys[18] to whom I gave you a letter. I think it probable you have found but little resourses

[15] It is not possible to identify Short's client.

[16] David Trimble (1782-1842) a Virginia graduate of William and Mary in 1799, emigrated to Kentucky where he was admitted to the bar before commencing the practice of law in Mount Sterling. After service as brigade quartermaster of a Kentucky unit of mounted militia during the War of 1812, he was a Democratic member of the House of Representatives, 1817-1827. See Ansel Wold (comp.), *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (Washington, 1928), p. 1627.

[17] Short patronized several lodging and boarding houses in Philadelphia between 1810, when he returned from Europe, and 1830, when he purchased a house at 145 Walnut Street. In 1817-1818, he lived at Mrs. Benson's. See Shackelford, "William Short," pp. 518-519.

[18] David Humphreys (1752-1818) served at Paris as Secretary of Legation to the American Treaty Commissioners, Franklin, Adams and Jefferson, when Short was Jefferson's Private Secretary. A special envoy in London, Lisbon and Madrid in the 1790's, Humphreys succeeded Short as Minister Resident to Spain in 1796. When the economy-minded Jefferson administration reduced the number of American foreign agents, it abruptly recalled Humphreys in 1801. He brought

from the letter for Wolcott.[19] Probably he is not rich & lives in a retired way. I think I have understood that was the case.

I see, & I see with pleasure, from your letter that your reading has been more general than that of most young men of this country. Marmontel[20] & the Cardinal de Bernis[21] are known I am sure but to few of them. I would advise you by all means to keep your French. I mean as to reading the authors of that language; a little practise will now keep it up & make it familiar to you. As to speaking it, that can only be acquired by living among the French; and for a person who is to live in this country it is much more important to be able to read the authors of that language than to speak it.

Adieu my dear Greenbury; let me hear from you & believe me

Truly & Affectionately Yours,
W. Short

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a shipload of merino sheep to Connecticut, where he established a woolens manufactury at Derby, although he himself soon moved to Boston. See Stanley T. Williams, "David Humphreys," *DAB*, IX, pp. 373-375.

[19] Oliver Wolcott, Jr., (1790-1833) was born at Litchfield, Conn., the son of his namesake who signed the Declaration of Independence and was Governor. An able Federalist financier, he helped organize the First Bank of the United States and succeeded Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury, 1795-1801. Although he had betrayed President John Adams's confidences to Hamilton, the latter in 1801 appointed him to a newly-created federal district judgeship that the Jeffersonians quickly abolished. After a successful career in New York City as a China merchant and banker, he became a War Federalist late in the War of 1812 and returned to Litchfield. An unsuccessful gubernatorial candidate on an anti-Federalist ticket in 1816, he was elected Governor in 1817 and served until 1826. See James O. Wetterau, "Oliver Wolcott, Jr.," *DAB*, XX, pp. 443-445.

[20] Jean Francois Marmontel (1723-1799), the French Academician, author of tragedies, comic operas, moral tales, romances, articles for the *Encyclopédie*, reminiscences and critical essays. Short probably hoped Ridgely would read Marmontel's *Mémoires d'un père pour servir à l'instruction de ses enfants* (4 vols., Paris, 1st ed., 1804), which constitutes a history of the life and literary works of the eighteenth century, or his *Contes moraux* (3 vols., Paris, 1st ed., 1765).

[21] Cardinal François-Joachim de Pierres de Bernis (1715-1794) served as French Foreign Minister in the 1740's due to his patronage by Madame de Pompadour. Subsequently Ambassador to the Venetian Republic, he became an intimate of Casanova. While Ambassador to the Holy See in the 1780's, he was a leader of Roman society. Short carried letters to the Cardinal when he visited Rome in 1787 and was entertained by him as a mutual friend of the Duchesse d'Enville, the Comtesse d'Houdétot and the Comtesse de Tessé. A member of the French Académie, de Bernis' prose and poetical works appeared in many editions. His *Oeuvres Complètes* of 1784 and 1787 were in two volumes, reissued in 1797 in three. Probably his best poems are *Les Quatres Saisons* and *La Réligion Vengée*. See Sir Marcus Cheke, *The Cardinal de Bernis* (New York, 1958); and Shackelford, "William Short," p. 154.

Philad[elphi]a, Jan. 30, 1817

Dear Greenbury

I have been much pleased to learn your situation at Litchfield. I always thought the chances of instruction there were better as to Law, than in any other part of America. The moot pleadings which you mention are & must be of incalculable advantage. My own example, of which I believe I gave you an account of my *debut* in the practice of the law, taught me how far mere theoretical study would prove deficient. The forms & practise can be only learned by exercising them either in court after commencing the career, or in moot pleadings before—& the latter is much the best mode as well for the feelings of the practitioner, as for the interest of the clients. After all, success in the study of the law as well as in every other study, depends much less on the favorable opportunities offered by the place of study, than on the will, the industry & perseverance of the student. And thus it is you shall see a man who has passed with éclat through our Universities, & then reside for years in the Temple, in London, follow the Courts of Westminster, &c and yet return & yield the palm to some country clown, on whom his pride & legal opportunities shall make him look down with scorn, but on whom clients (whose instinct is a good guide & well directed mark of preference) will look up to as their protector. The law is a profession in which every man must succeed who has a strong persevering & determined will. It depends therefore on every man to succeed, & yet how many fail. It is because a strong & persevering will is among the rarest qualities. In our family particularly there is none of it; a sort of constitutional fickleness unfits us for almost every success—& whenever we do succeed it must be by chance. I believe we have been always so. For although we are among the earliest settlers of Virginia,[22] I do not find that there has ever been one of us who has risen to any importance in the State at any time, or who has acquired distinction by wealth or any other of those attributes or circumstances which distinguish men.[23] They have fits & starts, but can never adhere for any

[22] William Short the First (*d.* 1659) emigrated to Surry County, Virginia, in 1635. See Nell M. Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers, Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 1623-1800* (Richmond, 1934), p. 29; Shackelford, "William Short," pp. 1-5.

[23] Short modestly failed to mention that he was the first of his name in Virginia to occupy more than a county position.

length of time to any one thing. It will be well for you therefore if you do not borrow the qualities of your mind from your Mother's side of the house. For if you do you will probably be fickle, without a determined will & perseverance; & in that case, unless you can conquer your natural disposition & create for yourself a new nature as it were (which however may be done with sufficient toil & care) the chance of success in anything, but more especially in the Law, is hardly to be counted on. I have known very good men who were fickle & changeable, but I never knew one who was successful. I hold that it is wiser to adopt any one line and pursue it steadily, than to change with a view to adopting a better. There may be some exceptions to this as a general rule, for changing once or twice in the progress through the life—but he who gives himself up to frequent change, never can make any great progress in any thing but by miracle; & it must be a greater miracle still if he retains and benefits by the progress after he has made it. I have always observed the truth of the French proverb confirmed. It says "Il n'y a rien tant ennemi du *bien* que le *mieux*."[24] I take it for granted your knowledge of French will make you easily translate this.

I repeat my advice to you not to lose what you have acquired of French. The difficulty you mention as to French books might be obviated; one or two or even one w[oul]d suffice. If you will condemn yourself to go over & over again the same book & then translate it into English, writing down the translation as you go, this would be a much better exercise for learning the principles of the language, than reading a great variety of books & would enable you to read with great facility hereafter any others that you might wish to read. I have here a work I would recommend to you for that purpose. I take it to be a work of all others the one that a young man should study & read over & over again in whatever language he reads it. Every sentence of it is worthy of being got by heart. I mean the Lives of Plutarch.[25] There never was more sound philosophy & sound sense written; the examples which he holds up are such as have had a greater

[24] There is nothing which is a greater enemy of the good than the better.

[25] Of the many French editions of Plutarch's works, Short probably refers to *Oeuvres de Plutarque*, published by J. -B. Cussac, Paris, 1783-1787, in twenty-two volumes, which included his *Vies des hommes illustrés*, and *Oeuvres morales*. As an undergraduate at the college of William and Mary, Short excelled in the classics, receiving in 1779 Professor John Bracken's prize for Latin composition. See Shackelford, "William Short," p. 36.

influence in forming great and good men than any other work. Out of his parallels between the characters he treats of (although he is manifestly partial to the Greeks) may be derived the best lessons for our guidance through life in whatever station we are placed. No author has the talent of making so great an impression on the reader. No person has ever read & studied well this author without having adopted many things from him perhaps without knowing it. M[a]d[am]e Roland[26] who was one of the remarkable victims of the French revolution & died under the guillotine, attributes her Republican principles to her having read Plutarch. These principles remained with her always & had taken root in her heart probably without her being aware of it. When I was in France they were publishing a modern translation of Plutarch; the work was not completed; but such of the volumes as had appeared (they were four) I have with me & shall be very glad to give them to you if you will use them in the way I have mentioned. Thus I will give you these four volumes in print for your translation of them in manuscript—& you may take as long a time as you please to make the manuscript. If you can point out any mode of my sending you these four volumes (they are small) I will do it with pleasure.[27]

. . . .

I am glad to hear that Mr. W[olcott] is in so good and comfortable a situation as you mention. He is one of the public characters who has been as is usual more extolled by his friends & more blamed by his enemies than he deserves. This is the common fate in times of party spirit. It has been most peculiarly the case with [Thomas Jefferson] the person you mention & whose portrait you wish from me. If I were to give it, it would

[26] Jeanne Manon Roland (1754-1793) was the wife of Jean Marie Roland de la Platière (1734-1793) the contributor to the *Encyclopédie,* member of the French National Assembly, Minister of the Interior and of War, and with Jacques Pierre de Warville (1754-1793) leader of the Girondist faction. Because Brissot had worked as a pamphleteer and lobbyist in favor of Virginia tobacco sales in France, Short knew him better than he did the Rolands and provided him with letters of introduction to Americans in London and Virginia. Short agreed with "Rosalie," Duchesse de la Rochefoucauld d'Enville, that Girondists gained power in 1792 by catering to radical sentiment which they could not long control before an inevitable civil war. After the French Convention condemned the Girondists to death, Brissot de Warville in Oct. of 1793 and Madame Roland in July of 1793 were guillotined. Roland committed suicide upon learning of his wife's demise. See Louis Madelin, *The French Revolution* (New York, 1916), pp. 235-237, 372 *et passim;* and Shackelford, "William Short," pp. 192, 329-369.

[27] Three sentences are omitted which offer advice on how best to acquire a reading knowledge of French.

probably be a flattering one. I am, as I ought to be, his friend. His conduct from my earliest life has been most kind & most partial to me. He has great talents & great address as a public man. His opinions may be often erroneous, as he is a man & therefore subject to err, but I believe his opinions are always honest, at least as much so as political opinions generally are. He has been much and often culumniated. He has also been often extolled beyond what he was entitled to; the *media tatessimus ibis* you may apply here & on almost all such occasions. I speak of him now as a public man. In private life, as a husband, a father & a friend, he is unexceptionable, at least as far as has come under my observation or experience, & few men have ever had as good opportunities of seeing into the heart & into the bottom of the heart of another, as I have had with respect to Mr. J[efferson]. If I were to write a volume, the result would be what I have said in these few words.

I heard not long ago from Mr. Wilkins;[28] your family were then well. Let me hear from you whenever you can spare time from your pursuits. I hope you gained the cause you were going to defend when you last wrote to me. Should you have an opportunity of seeing Gen. Humphreys I am sure he will receive you very kindly as he is an old friend of mine. It is well however you did not wait for him to present you to Dr. Dwight[29] as I learn that he is now removed from among us, having paid the debt of nature. It must be a great loss, for the talent which is qualified to direct a large seminary seems a very rare one with us. The man who is now at the head of Princeton College seems to be entirely destitute of it, and we understand that his flock is in a state of perfect anarchy.[30]

God Bless you my dear Greenbury

Yours affectionately,
W. Short

[28] Charles Wilkins married William Short's sister (and Greenbury Ridgely's aunt) in 1792 in Kentucky. She was Jane Short (1770-1820), the youngest child of William Short the Fifth and his wife Elizabeth Skipwith Short. See Shackelford, "William Short," p. 536.

[29] Timothy Dwight (1752-1817) became the President of Yale College, 1795-1817, after having been a "Connecticut Wit," a tutor at Yale following his graduation there in 1769, a revolutionary chaplain, a farmer and clergyman. He died on January 11, 1817. See Harris E. Starr, "Timothy Dwight," *DAB*, V, pp. 573-577.

[30] Ashbel Green (1762-1848) became the eighth President of Princeton College in 1812, the year of the students' "Great Rebellion." He resigned in 1822. Graduated from that college in 1782, he became a tutor and then Professor of

Philad[elphi]a, March 25, 1817

Dear Greenbury

Your letter of the 18th ulto has been some time in my hands. I read it with great pleasure & saw that you properly appreciated the advantages of the profession you have chosen. Indeed in all countries that profession has great power, but the freer the country, the greater the power & advantages of the law. In representative governments where oratory & eloquence are the means by which men act on others, the lawyer of course must take the lead, for these are the arms which he has been accustomed to handle. The exercise of the law makes or improves his fortune; & possessed of fortune, which is the only way of possessing independence, he can give his services to the State in the way which disposition & his conscience may dictate. A Statesman who is rich in himself & thus devotes himself may be said to live *for* his country, & will be respected by all, friends or foes; but when poor, he seeks for public office & thus enlists himself & his family, he may be truly said to live *on* his country, & he will be really if not apparently despised, even by his friends.

With the advantages of education which you have had, & with the talents which I have no doubt you will acquire, there will be no need of your seeking a new country or settlement unless you should chuse it. I am persuaded you may fix yourself at Lexington or anywhere else, & by a persevering industry rise to the head of your profession. It is true the more talents there are already where you may fix, the longer the time & the greater the efforts must be. But ultimate success with patience & perseverance I hold to be demonstrable. And perhaps the greater the struggles a young man has to encounter the better, provided he have energy & perseverance enough to succeed. All successes procured in this life are valuable in proportion to the pains they have required. If a man rises too easily and too quickly it is like a grass fed horse; he can never hold out, in travelling, with one who has been fed & fattened slowly on oats or other hard food. Thus also a fortune acquired rapidly by some fortunate speculation never yet profited a man as much as the fortune

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Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. Ordained as a Presbyterian Minister in 1787, he served as a leading clergyman in Philadelphia and in his church's national organization, a father of the Princeton Theological Seminary. See Robert H. Norris, "Ashbel Green," *DAB*, VII, pp. 536-537.

laboriously & gradually acquired. This seems to be a law of nature; at least it is comformable with my long observation & experience in the ways of the world.

Should you prefer however the earlier and shorter path of promotion by going to settle in some new country you will have a great variety of choice. New establishments are opening to the men every day in that immense Western region. From what I heard Mr. Clifford of Lexington[31] say, none I think can surpass or even equal one which he denoted as busy now in embryo, somewhere between the Mississippi territory and the Tombigbee. This region is so situated as to give the rare union of healthy situation with the valuable production of cotton & I think sugar. If so, the increase of its wealth must be rapid indeed; & the more wealthy the country, the better of course for professional men.

As you expressed a willingness to adopt my mode of retaining and improving your French, I availed myself of the return of Mr. and Mrs. Otis[32] to Boston, & put under their care the books in question directed to you to the care of Gen. Humphreys. Mr. Otis will leave this little packet with him at N. Haven & a letter which I wrote him asking him to keep these books in his care until you should send for them. You will without doubt have frequent occasions to N. Haven from Litchfield. Write therefore a letter to Gen. Humphreys who resides at Butlers tavern and tell him to whom to deliver this packet of books. You will find four volumes of the last translation of Plutarch's Lives. The

[31] Probably John D. Clifford (*c.* 1752-1820), the antiquarian, collector of fossils and lover of natural sciences who emigrated from England to Lexington, Kentucky, *via* Philadelphia. A Trustee of Transylvania University at Lexington, 1815-1820, he persuaded C. S. Rafinesque to come from Philadelphia to join its faculty as Professor of Natural Science. In 1816, Transylvania's trustees appropriated $1,000 to be expended by Clifford in acquiring a chemical apparatus for the university. See Robert Peter, *History of the Medical Department of Transylvania University* (no. 20 in Filson Club Publications, Lexington, 1905), p. 31 and *Transylvania University* (no. 11, in Filson Club Publications, Lexington, 1896), p. 97.

[32] Harrison Gray Otis (1765-1848), although a Federalist member of the United States House of Representatives, 1797-1801, Hamiltonian, Francophobe, States-Rights foe of the Embargo and a leader of the Hartford Convention of 1814, became in the Era of Good Feelings a supporter of President Monroe. A United States Senator, 1817-1822, he opposed with equal vehemence the extension of slavery into Missouri and the abolition movement in Boston. He opposed tariff increases in 1820, but he became converted to protection later. He became a close friend of John Rutledge, Jr. of South Carolina (1766-1819), when the latter served in the House of Representatives (1797-1803). See Samuel E. Morison, "Harrison Gray Otis," *DAB*, XIV, pp. 98-100.

work is not complete—but that is of no consequence as in fact every Life, or rather every two lives & their parallel make a complete work in itself.
. . . .[33]

[William Short]

Thomas Jefferson. 1746-1823. Photograph of Engraving by St. Memin.
Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection.

Philad[elphi]a, Ap[ril] 25, 1817

Dear Greenbury

Your letter of the 16th is now before me. I learn with pleasure your intention of a pedestrian tour. The idea is an excellent one. It will improve your health & invigorate the mind giving it not only an additional stock of ideas, but a stock of new ideas, as you will be placed in a novel relation to things & thereby have a novel view of them. If you have an agreeable companion it will be so much the better. The intercommunication of ob-

[33] Two paragraphs are omitted which pertain to Short's opinions concerning reading and speaking knowledge of French.

servations as they arise with a sensible man, always increases & improves the stock of both.[34] I shall be very glad to hear from you after this tour & learn how & where it was carried into execution. I w[oul]d advise you to keep a diary of every thing that happens to you. Things that may appear to you indifferent at the moment, you will read over years hence with great pleasure & then every incident that now takes place will have its value to you—& like old wine will have improved with age. I have had occasion to remark this frequently in recurring to a little book of acc[oun]t which for many years I kept so regularly that I noted down every article I expended even of the value of a cent. It appeared to me insipid then but I am now much interested & amused, & often instructed by it, as from its *minutiae* of detail it forms a most complete diary. At this distance of time many a little item of expense, which I see marked, seems as a text or map & brings back to my mind a thousand circumstances that would otherwise have laid dormant until death.

On the subject of your tour there is one caution which I will give you which you will probably not attend to now because you are young & strong, but which notwithstanding it is well worth attending to. And that is to begin so gradually this exercise as never to heat or fatigue yourself. Every day you may gradually increase your journey & if you stop always before you are fatigued or heated you will find your powers & your pleasures increase; but if you fatigue and too much heat yourself in the start you will only injure yourself, perhaps get a surfeit and become ill. Should you unavoidably be so enforced as to become heated, avoid above all thing cooling too fast. Most men in such a case get into a current of air or throw off their clothes, or do some other imprudent thing w[hic]h often occasions disease. Be assured that there is nothing worse, when the pores are opened by perspiration than to allow them to be closed too soon. Whenever I walk in the heat of the day & get into this state, & find the room too cool when I return to it, instead of

[34] After Short met John Rutledge, Jr. and Edward Shippen at Paris in January of 1788, the three consulted with Jefferson concerning a grand tour of the continent. Among other schemes abandoned by "Jefferson's triumvirate" was a descent of the Danube. Armed with Addison's *Travels in Italy,* Short joined Rutledge at Milan in October of 1788, after Shippen heeded parental orders to return to Philadelphia. The remaining duumvirate visited Venice, the Tuscan cities, Rome and Naples, before returning to Paris in May of 1789 via the Languedoc canal and postechaise. See Shackelford, "William Short," pp. 151-158.

throwing off my clothes I on the contrary put on a surtout & sit quietly until I have cooled gently & I find the benefit of it.

I have known many pedestrians,[35] but most of them have told me that they were imprudent in setting out, by undertaking too much at first. On the contrary by beginning gradually any man may become a great walker. I have heard an anecdote of a man of the name of Webb, which I have always retained as exemplifying this. This man had become so fat that there was danger of his suffocating under it. His physicians after trying all other things in vain advised him to try what pedestrian exercise would do. At first he could only go a few steps without resting & the remedy he thought as bad as the disease. But he persisted. Every day found the difficulty less & finally became so famous as a pedestrian tourist, that he was known by the name of the walking Webb.[36]

When you have decided on the region you mean to explore I w[oul]d advise you to examine the best map you can find of it—so as to form a general idea. Its mountains & its water courses sh[oul]d be attended to. And as the map may not be yours & you may not be able to take it with you, you should make out for yourself on a sheet of paper a general outline of it & take that as a part of your *viaticum*. The principal things for you to examine will of course be the human race, then habits, manners & the modes of life as to convenience, comfort, &c. Then the animated part of nature or its zoology—the plants or its botany—its rocks, stones and subterranean productions, or its mineralogy. You can only take a superficial view of these things *en passant*. And, as it is probable that you have not attended to these matters in any elementary course, you will necessarily only attend them so far as you may find pleasure therein. For your profession, man is the subject on which you are to operate & of course it is to him you sh[oul]d direct your greatest attention. I will say no more of your tour than to offer you my best wishes for your deriving from it not only pleasure but health & instruction.

As to your orthographical sins you really make them more

[35] Doubtless Short thought of John Ledyard (1751-1789) whom he met at Paris in 1786 before the latter attempted to walk across Siberia, only to be arrested by orders of Catherine the Great. This veteran of Captain Cook's last voyage wished to develop for the United States the Northwest fur trade. See W. J. Ghent, "John Ledyard," *DAB*, XI, pp. 93-94.

[36] "Walking" Webb was a late eighteenth century Englishman who walked across England from the North to the Irish Sea and lived to a ripe old age.

than they are. But I am glad you feel so sensibly on the subject. In all your letters there has been only one fault and that more a *lapsus pennae* than anything else. It is worth while however to avoid even one slip, not so much on account of ones self as of others. For wherever these is the apparent want of education, the public will suppose a want of talent, & the *onus probandi* will be put on the person as to his talent. It is like rags as a garment. The man under the rags may be a man of rank & a gentleman, but the public will not believe it at first sight nor until he has proved it to be so; whereas, had he been well dressed, they w[oul]d have taken it for granted.

I am sorry you did not get your books from Humphreys. You should not postpone it—for he may go to Europe, as there is some talk of it, or he may die there from his mode of life. You might perhaps get the stage driver who goes from Litchfield to N[ew] Haven to bring them, & in that case write to Humphreys again, & if you sh[oul]d not get them immediately the best way w[oul]d be to ask him to leave them with Butler the tavern-keeper where he lodges, as Butler of course w[oul]d always be found. Let me know when you get them. If you sh[oul]d take N[ew] Haven in your tour you may then be successfuler than if Humphreys sh[oul]d be there. I think I requested Mr. Otis if Humphreys should not be there to leave the packet with Butler. I doubt whether among all the books extant there be one more amusing than Plutarch. I am sure there is not one more instructive & more philosophical.

The paper informed us of the election of Mr. Wolcott [as Governor of Connecticut]. As for myself, I take little interest in such things now, but I am glad to perceive that moderation seems to be gaining the ranks of both parties. This I believe is the case in every part of the U.S.

I have not heard anything of your friend that you mentioned. He has not been to Phil[adelphi]a as far as I know. I have seen lately in the papers the death announced of a young man of the same name who was said lately to have returned to Baltimore in ill health, but he is stated to be an officer of the Navy. I suppose therefore it is not the gentlemen to whom you allude as being professor or fellow student with you.

Adieu my dear Greenbury

Y[our]s affectionately
W. Short

Philad[elphi]a, June 25, 1817

Dear Greenbury

Your letter of May 18 was received in due time. As you there announced your departure early in June on your pedestrian excursion, I postponed answering it. I suppose you must be now again at Litchfield, & I send this letter thither. Hope you derived, as you expected, both pleasure & profit from your excursion & that you will give me some account of it. When you write, address your letter to me at Ballston Spa, State of New York.[37] I think I shall be there by the middle of July. At any rate your letter will be safe & will remain there for me if it should arrive before me. I shall remain there some time, & after receiving your letter will write to you from thence & let you know the time of my departure. I shall hope to find there on my arrival a letter from you.

I was glad to learn that the books intended for you had got to your hands.

. . . .[38]

I was pleased to learn by your letter that you were taking a thorough review of all your studies since your arrival at Litchfield. This process is too much neglected in our studies; & then the ideas, which have been presented to our mind, have been so transient that no image is left behind, of course no real utility derives from them. It is as if a river had passed through a tub with holes in the bottom. The quantity of water that has passed can be of no use when a thirsty man goes to the tub, if it be only for a drop of water for the purpose of quenching his thirst or for any other useful purpose. So also with the student who has rapidly run through what is so improperly called a regular course of education. And thus it is that we see so many young men who were brilliant at College, & yet do not succeed in practical life, as w[oul]d have been supposed from their *regular education*. In fact this education was rather more than a succession of ideas running through them like water in the tub, without any part remaining. On the contrary, we have seen many

[37] Short usually passed his summers at this watering place in Saratoga County, which before the Civil War was more fashionable than Saratoga Springs and was the resort of many southern men of means. See Shackelford, "William Short," pp. 520-521.

[38] Two paragraphs detailing Short's high opinion of Plutarch's Lives are omitted.

who were thought dull plodding boys at school, & who have succeeded much later. As they acquired their lessons with difficulty, they were obliged to go over & over them again, & thus they retained a part at least; so that when they left college they in fact possessed a greater store of ideas than the brilliant scholar who had been always at the head of his class, obtained all the prizes, &c. But as he acquired easily & readily, he was not forced to a frequent & thorough review of what he acquired & of course nothing remained with him when he left College. His mind was not disciplined to the labor of study or acquiring knowledge, & still less to the mode of retaining what he acquired; & therefore he was always as it were at the beginning of his education.

. . . .[39]

I have not heard from our friends in Kentucky for a long time. Indeed your information was the last I have rec[eive]d. God help you my dear G. Take care of yourself. Peruse & reperuse Plutarch (I am sure I need not recommend to you diligence in your law studies). At your leisure transcribe for me one [of] Plutarch's Lives, & believe me ever & truly

Affectionately yours,
W. Short

Ballston Spa, July 31, 1817

Dear Greenbury

On arriving here I had the pleasure of finding your letter of the 14th inst. Judge [James] Gould [of Litchfield] has since arrived but did not bring me the sequel of your late excursion, as you had promised he should; & this I really regret. I made an acquaintance with this professor on purpose that I might enquire of him as to you, & I have the satisfaction of telling you that he speaks of you in the handsomest terms. I was much pleased with him, as he seems to be an amiable & very well informed man. I have often heard this character of him & he seems fully to merit it. I have asked him to take charge of this letter for you, which he willingly engaged to do, & if I should

[39] Two paragraphs of Short's admonitions that his nephew write more legibly and spell better are omitted.

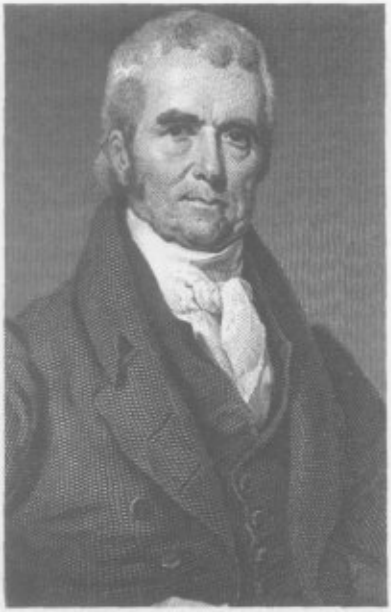
find him before he leaves us (for I believe he does not lodge in the same house that I do) I shall commit it to his care; otherwise it will go by the mail.

The reasons which decided you to postpone your pedestrian excursion were very sufficient. I was much pleased with the notices which you sent me of the excursion you did make. To prove to you that it did please me, & that I take interest in what you write I will offer you my strictures on the handwriting you have fallen into & which is peculiarly objectionable for a man of business, as he has an interest to be understood & understand with ease by those who read it. Yours has been becoming smaller & smaller since your residence at Litchfield & of course more difficult to be read. At length it is such that in the account you have sent, there are few parts I could make out without effort, & some parts that have resisted all my efforts; so they remain as if they had not been written at all. I w[oul]d advise you to attend to this. I know the inconvenience from my own experiences. For it has often happened to me to write letters & even those which had to cross the sea, which my friends could not perfectly decypher, & when they have complained to me, I have found the habits so fixed as to be difficulty to overcome, notwithstanding I never fail to attempt this. But I find often at the end of a long letter that my hand becomes invariably so small & difficult that I am ashamed to let it go. I can tell you as a rule through life that it is much easier to prevent a bad habit from taking root, than it is to eradicate it afterwards. . . .[40] I hear the bell ring for dinner & therefore must end this kind of lesson; not however before telling you that I shall remain here at least to the end of August & hope to hear from you again in the mean time. It will not be in my power to pass through Litchfield this year & I regret it, as I am obliged to follow the course of the steamboats,[41] not having my own horses with me. God Bless you my dear Greenbury, & make you healthy & happy. This is the wish of

Yours affectionately
W. Short

[40] Two pages of Short's strictures upon vulgar American spelling and pronunciation and their interrelation are omitted.

[41] Short's interest in steamboats was greater than merely taking advantage of the convenient transportation they afforded. See Shackelford, "William Short," p. 520, for Short's investment in Robert Fulton's company as early as 1812.



John Marshall. 1755-1835.
Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection.

Philad[elphi]a, Octob[er] 26, 1817

Dear Greenbury

Your letter of Aug. 24 found me preparing to leave Ballston. Since my departure from thence, I have been engaged in travelling—not long enough fixed at any one place to resume my correspondence, until my arrival here on the 1st inst. Thus far my time has been occupied by writing letters that did not admit of delay & then preparing my winter quarters. Your letters now have their turn & I have had the pleasure of again reading them over. I answered from Ballston, by mine of July 24, Yours of the 14th of that month. It only remains for me now to acknowledge the aforementioned of Aug. 24.

And first I will tell you that I was indeed much gratified on opening that letter to find it traced in legible characters, so that I could read & understand it without effort, & of course with a proportioned pleasure.

. . . .[42]

It gives me pleasure to learn that you have seen my friend

[42] Three pages of Short's strictures upon vulgar American orthography, pronunciation and spelling are omitted.

Gen. Humphreys & were pleased with him. He is a worthy man & a useful citizen. I have known him now for a great many years. I have not heard from Kentucky for some time, but hope they are all well.

God bless you my dear Greenbury. Let us hear from you & believe me ever &c.

Affectionately yours
W. Short

Philad[elphi]a, Nov. 10, 1817

Dear Greenbury

Your letter dated the 8th inst. by mistake, as the postmark is the 7th, has this moment come to my hands. I lose no time to acknowledge it, as I wish to know as soon as possible what are your present intentions as to the ensuing year, seeing that the beginning & end of your letter are totally irreconcileable. From the beginning I understood you had determined to proceed to Harvard College, & in my mind's eye I saw you on your way thither, when all of a sudden on coming to the end of your letter I find that you will be here by the end of this month. This supposes of course that you will be on your way to K[entuck]y, & I should think without any intention of returning to Cambridge, for it w[oul]d be silly to proceed to Cambridge from Litchfield by the way of Lexington. Putting then the several parts of your letter together, I am quite at a loss to ascertain what are your views at present.

You give many very good & specious reasons for wishing to attend a course of law lectures at Harvard.[43] These or any other lectures or circumstances which induce a young man to bring his mind to bear clearly on the subject he pursues, may be always useful. But, after all, collegiate courses under celebrated professors are more the luxury of education than the solid utility of the thing. The success of a lawyer must essentially & intrinsically depend on the course he pursues after he has entered the field of practice. It is then in fact that the real education begins—every new observation he makes, stores his mind

[43] Harvard established its first law professorship in 1815, another in 1817, and conferred its first law degree in 1820. When Joseph Story (1779-1845) joined the faculty of Harvard's law school in 1828, it had only eighteen students. See Fisher, *Litchfield Law School,* p. 25; and George E. Woodbine, "Joseph Story," *DAB,* XVIII, p. 106.

with a new idea, not of the general or ornamental kind, but that which applies to his situation & is essential to it. Of course it makes a deeper impression on him, & as it comes alone unconnected with other less useful & less applicable ideas, it is placed separately & distinctly in his mind, so that he can always apply to it & call it to his use with celerity. And this is what makes the able & successful pleader at the bar. The general & expanded ideas that are acquired in a scientific course are like the rays of the sun that shine. . . . They are genial and productive in a general way, but the ideas acquired at the bar & grow out of the cases as they arise are like the rays of the sun concentrated through a lens. They then leave other parts unaffected, but burn the part on which they are thus brought to bear. And this is the way in which the lawyer must proceed to act with success at the bar.

This is strongly exemplified in the case of Marshall, the present Chief Justice of the U.S. I can speak with certainty of him because he was of my time.[44] The only course of law lectures he ever attended I attended with him. We had there also a mock court, but it lasted only a short time. The most important cause w[hic]h was argued before it was one with four of us on each side. Marshall led one side & I the other. I consider it now an antediluvian affair & I may therefore speak of it freely. The auditory at that time certainly considered my speech far superior to his. Marshall immediately after this left the lectures & began the practice of the law, having I believe for a short time wrote in an attorney's office merely to learn the mechanical mode of instituting & carrying on a suit of law. He went then to the bar, as I well know, with little even general knowledge of law, & less particular & practical law learning. Moreover his classical education had been much neglected; for he had gone in to the army I think at sixteen. He could only have been then at some common country school. From the Army he returned to Virginia & followed one course of lectures as I have

[44] John Marshall (1755-1835) was a student of George Wythe at William and Mary between May and June of 1780. He received his license to practice in August of 1780 from Governor Jefferson. Both William and Peyton Short were Marshall's seniors in Phi Beta Kappa (respectively #11, #38, and #40). William Short was elected to Virginia's Executive Council of State in 1783 at the age of twenty-five; Marshall was elected to that body in 1782 at twenty-nine. See Shackelford, "William Short," pp. 44-45, 62; Edwin S. Corwin, "John Marshall," *DAB*, XII, pp. 315-325.

said & then began the practice where he must have continued his education in the way I have mentioned. No man has ever had in this country a more successful & more brilliant career. At the bar he was irresistible because he had the talent of concentrating his ideas as it were through a lens; he seized at once on all the strong points of his case, passed by minor things & generally triumphed. But he was one of those men who had a strong & undeviating mind, or rather will. He was resolved to succeed; & that resolve when sufficiently firm never has, I believe, failed.

I went to the bar in a different way, & it is fortunate for me perhaps that I was, contrary to my expectation, called away from it as soon as I did begin. I went full of all the general principles & erudite knowledge of the sources of law. The law of nature, the law of the land, viz. England, for all our books were of English law; such things had occupied me. I had never read or condescended to think of the acts of the assembly of Virginia. I had had a regular classical education & had obtained what éclat all the collegiate prizes, &c, &c. I was full of myself & of my own superiority. I never shall forget that I had not left these lectures a month, when on my return home my college reputation having attended me, I was sent after by a person from S. Carolina, then residing in the (Virginia) county of Surry where was my father's habitation, to employ me in his defense, being accused of murdering one of his negroes. I was immediately for showing all my law learning to the court & for that purpose sent to a gentleman of the bar in Williamsburgh to lend me certain reports of criminal cases. From his answer I perceived that these reports w[oul]d not bear on the case in question & that it w[oul]d depend entirely on the act of the Virginia Assembly. This found me soaring in my own mind & preparing for a most elaborate & scientific speech. I sh[oul]d probably have carried them back to the murder of Abel, giving them a learned account of *murdrum,* &c, &c. This information as to the act of the Assembly operated on me as the moves of his legs does on the Peacock when he is strutting. It showed me my own ignorance & real unfitness for the defence of my client. But such was the aversion of a bench of white men to condemn one of their own color for killing a black, that I found no difficulty & he was acquitted. So also at the first & only appear-

ance I ever made in a county court (for I was called to the bar of the Supreme Court) I was for the defendant in a case w[hic]h was called. The clerk asked me as usual what plea I w[oul]d put it. Had I been asked a most obstruse metaphysical question I w[oul]d not have been more completely put at a *non plus.* Fortunately the c[ler]k said he supposed of course it w[oul]d be a *non assumpsit* or some practical term, & I assented so as to save my expressing myself most completely, but for that lucky chance. Now this plea any underclerk w[oul]d have known, & I who had followed courses, &c, &c, did not know. I had never the less read the books of practice & thought I understood the subject. But my own experience convinced me that this technical & practical part is to be learned only in an attorney's office. My advice therefore always would be to everyone to pass one year in this way previous to the commencement of the practice.

Now as applicable to yourself, supposing you mean to commence at the end of one year from this, I w[oul]d advise you to give up all idea of the Harvard lectures, but to return to Lexington, put yourself in the office of the lawyer the most employed there & devote yourself to the acquiring a knowledge of the mere mechanical mode of proceeding, & then enter earnestly on the practice for yourself. But if you prefer following another course of lectures I am not at all certain that a second year at Litchfield w[oul]d not be better than one at Cambridge. However, it is best that everyone sh[oul]d judge for himself as far as he can, & I do not doubt your decision will be proper.

What I will thank you to inform me of by mail is whether you will be here as you supposed at the end of this month, & whether you will then be on your way to Lexington, & what your views are as to the ensuing year.

Let me know in time before you arrive here that I may get Mrs. Benson to keep a room for you. I hope you will lodge here with me. In the expectation of the pleasure, I remain

Affectionately,
W. Short

[P.S.] If you sh[oul]d not be returning to K[entuck]y, I w[ouſ]d advise you not to come here but to take any other excursion, as you will see this place when you do return.

Phil[adelphi]a, Nov. 17, 1817

Dear Greenbury,

Your letter of the 14th is this moment rec[eive]d & I send these few lines by the return of the mail & take the chance of finding you still at Litchfield. . . .[45]

. . . . Your plan of going to benefit by the debates in Congress &c. I think [good]. . . .

Affectionately,
W. Short

Philad[elphi]a, Jan. 2, 1818

Dear Greenbury

Your letter brought with it a great deal of pleasure to me as I began to be uneasy at not hearing from you. I have been prevented for some days from acknowledging its rec[eip]t, & now I shall make it short, because you do not indicate to me the manner of addressing you & I am not sure therefore that this letter will immediately find you. I shall direct it however in the way I think the most certain. I do not know if you lodge at your Uncle [Ridgely]'s[46] in Baltimore; nor do I know his name so as to distinguish him from any other Mr. R[idgely] if there should be others residing in Baltimore. Let me hear from you if you sh[oul]d receive this letter, as soon as you do receive it, & tell me if it is at your Uncle's that you lodge, or where, & how I must direct to you if you do not lodge there. Do not neglect to mention what you said you would in your next letters as to your reasons for wishing to be in company with respectable persons in Washington.

I am very glad you made your visit though short & w[oul]d advise your return there in Feby. as advised by Mr. Clay.[47] There

[45] One paragraph is omitted which urges Ridgely to lodge at Mrs. Benson's.

[46] Greenbury W. Ridgely had two uncles, Henry Ridgely and Judge Richard Ridgely, both of whom lived on the Western Shore of Maryland, at Elk Ridge near Ellicott's Mills. See Cochrane, "Ridgely," p. 302.

[47] Henry Clay (1777-1852) was at this time Speaker of the House of Representatives. Hoping that Monroe would appoint him Secretary of State, he had declined the President's offer of the ministry to Great Britain and secretaryship of War. Generally, Clay was a disgruntled critic of Monroe's administration. As a Virginia lad of fifteen, he had become an assistant clerk of chancery and Chancellor Wythe's private secretary, protégé and student. Wythe secured for him a post under Virginia's Attorney-General Robert Brooke. In November of 1797, Clay was admitted to the Virginia bar and left Richmond for Kentucky. See Bernard Mayo, *Henry Clay, Spokesman of the New West* (Boston, 1937), pp. 21-44, and E. Merton Coulter, "Henry Clay," *DAB*, IV, p. 175.

is no person there who can be more useful in introducing you than Mr. C. and it w[oul]d be well to be guided by his advice as to Washington. He stands on high ground there I believe, as well from fear as affection, & probably more from the former than the latter. This is generally so in politics. I do not know Mr. C. I suppose him of course a man of talents, and from what I learn I suppose him playing a bold & desperate game as to himself. By it he will probably obtain the highest prize in the political lottery, or if he sh[oul]d fail, draw out a ticket of bankruptcy. This is too hazardous a game for a man who has a large family as I am told he has. For after all in this country, the first object of a man sh[oul]d be to leave his children independent, & wealthy if he can. All honors of a political kind are so transitory in this government, that if a man sh[oul]d be covered with them himself & preserve them during his own life, they will wither and age with his children if they be left poor & dependent.

I am glad Mr. C. carried you to the ball of the French Minister [, Hyde de Neuville].[48] I wish he had told them you were my nephew, as they are my friends & old acquaintances. You do well during a short stay this winter at Washington to amuse yourself & see all that is to be seen, but consider such things as mere baubles, & only let them whet your industry to resume your studies & your profession. I am persuaded, the sooner you do this the better, & the more readily will you come out & establish your own fortune either at the law or in the Senate.

I saw G[enera]l [William Henry] Harrison,[49] but only for a moment. He confirmed to me what I had suspected that John

[48] Baron Guillaume-Jean Hyde de Neuville (1776-1857) as a French *émigré*, 1792-1814, spent with his family seven years in America when he became an admirer of American institutions. After the restoration of Louis XVIII he was an ultra-royalist Deputy in 1815 before serving as French Minister Resident at Washington, 1816-1821. See Joseph Thomas (ed.), *[Lippincott's] Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography and Mythology* (Philadelphia, 1893), p. 1324.

[49] William Henry Harrison (1773-1841), the hero of Tippecanoe and the ninth President, was the son of Benjamin Harrison (1726-1784), the signer of the Declaration of Independence and Governor of Virginia (1781-1784) when Short was a member of Virginia's Executive Council of State. He resigned from the army as a Major-General in 1813, lived near Cincinnati, and was Ohio's congressman, 1816-1819, generally followed Henry Clay's lead. As Peyton Short's brother-in-law he felt some concern for the welfare of his young "connection," Greenbury. See Dorothy B. Goebel, "William Henry Harrison," *DAB*, VIII, pp. 348-351 and Thomas Speed, *The Political Club [of] Danville, Kentucky, 1786-1790* (no. 9 in Filson Club Publications, Lexington, 1894; hereinafter cited as Speed, *Political Club of Danville)*, pp. 77-79.

[Cleves Short][50] had almost entirely given up the practice of the law. I rather think he did not succeed, & that this gave him the disgust he says he feels in having to do with such scoundrels as the practice necessarily brings him in contact with. This is indeed like a silly child who quarrels or gets disgusted with his bread & butter.

Mr. D[avid Meade] Randolph[51] is indeed a very old acquaintance. He is I believe a mild projecting man with many good qualities, but not with those which make the best father or provided for his children. I am sorry you had not room as you observed to detail his conversation to Mr. J[efferson]. They have long been political enemies & he thinks perhaps with reason that Mr. J. treated him very ill in taking his place from him. G[enera]l H[arrison] was mistaken in supposing there was any connexion between Mr. Eppes[52] & our family. The only thing of the kind is that Mr. Eppes's father and two of my mother's brothers married three sisters, but this is no connexion at all. The first wife of Mr. Eppes was also a daughter of Mr. Jefferson, who had married a fourth sister of the three above mentioned, & thus was the niece of our Uncles.[53] Adieu for the present dear

[50] John Cleves Short (1794-1863) was the son of Peyton and Maria Symmes Short.

[51] David Meade Randolph (1760-1830) of Presque Isle, Chesterfield Co., Va. was a first cousin of John Randolph of Roanoke, a second cousin-once-removed of John Marshall, and a second cousin of Thomas Jefferson. In 1790 the latter recommended him to President Washington for appointment as federal marshal for Virginia. Subsequently, Randolph became a Federalist. Because he refused to comply with President Jefferson's order to remit the fine levied on James Thompson Callender, occasioned by the latter's conviction under the Sedition Act of 1798, Randolph was removed from office in March of 1801. See Jefferson R. Anderson, "The Tuckahoe Randolphs," *Reports of the Monticello Association*, XXII, (1936), pp. 24, 33-34; Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Mann Randolph, Jr., March 28 and April 18, 1790, Ford, *Writings of Jefferson*, V, pp. 150-160; and Noble Cunningham, *The Jeffersonians in Power, 1801-1809* (Chapel Hill, 1963), pp. 250-251.

[52] John Wayles Eppes (1773-1823) was the son of Francis and Elizabeth Wayles Eppes of Eppington, Chesterfield Co., Va. After he was graduated from Hampden-Sydney College, he lived between 1791 and 1792 with Thomas Jefferson at Philadelphia and read law under the latter's supervision. In 1797 he married Maria Jefferson (1778-1804). After service in the Virginia General Assembly, Eppes was elected to the United States House of Representatives, 1802-1811 and 1813-1815, and to the United States Senate, 1815-1819. He had been Chairman of both the House Ways and Means and Foreign Relations committee, but ill health prevented him from achieving any real distinction in the Senate. See George G. Shackelford, "Maria Jefferson and John Wayles Eppes," *Collected Papers of the Monticello Association* (Princeton, 1965), pp. 154-166.

[53] John Wayles (1715-1773) of the Forest, Charles City Co., Va., married twice. By his first wife, Martha Eppes (1721-1747), he had one daughter, Martha Wayles (1748-1782) who in 1772 married her second husband, Thomas Jefferson. By

Greenbury. Let me know what is your second name of which the W. is the initial. I never observed that signature before.

Affectionately yours,
W. Short

P.S.—You spell delegation with an i, thus del*i*gation. This is wrong. You would not for example write del*i*gate, instead of del*e*gate.

Henry Clay. 1777-1852.
Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection.

Wayles's second wife, Elizabeth Cocke, he had three daughters: Elizabeth Wayles (b. 1752) who married Francis Eppes (1747-1808), see fn. 52 *supra*; Tabitha Wayles (b. 1753) who became the second wife of Robert Skipwith (b. 1748); and Anne Wayles (b. 1756) who married Henry Skipwith (b. 1753). Robert and Henry Skipwith were brothers of the Elizabeth Skipwith who married William Short the Fifth. See Shackelford, "William Short," pp. 535-540.

Philad[elphi]a Jan. 13, 1818

Dear Greenbury

Your letter from Elk-Ridge has found its way to me & I have been much pleased by it, as it relieves me from an apprehension I had that my preceding letter might have miscarried from imperfect direction, & also as it informs me of your present location [at Ellicott City], which I think cannot but be of service to you, although I would not advise you to give up the superintendence of Mr. C[lay] in Feb[ruar]y. As to the plan w[hic]h you suggest of an experiment at M[ontgomer]y [County's] Court-house,[54] I really am not competent to form a proper opinion. It would seem however to promise well & I should think favorably of it if advised by the Judge. A clerks office must be a good place as well as an attorney's office for acquiring a knowledge of the forms & practice; either I hold to be *sine qua non.*

If on trial you should find yourself able to cope with what you call the giants at Baltimore, I should suppose it w[oul]d be a desirable location & preferable to the [Secretaryship of the proposed Territory of] Arkansas,[55] but the chance of course is much less, of success with giants than with pigmies. And as to success in the way of making a fortune, a new country if it should prosper itself must ensure this, provided the individual have sense & prudence enough not be at work & speculating himself out of such a natural course of prosperity. This is a rock however on which men are apt to split. Where nature & circumstances do too much for them, they are often disposed to do away a great deal of this advantage by their own ridiculous follies. There is another thing which is apt to mar a man's success in life; it is the having too many chances or too many places of success before his age. He is apt to make less effort himself under the idea if he does not succeed here he will there &c. And, after all, success depends more on the real & efficient efforts of the man than any advantage of the place, & therefore it is that

[54] Greenbury W. Ridgely did remain in Montgomery County, Maryland for some while in order to read law under his uncle, Judge Richard Ridgely. He was admitted to the Maryland bar before returning to Kentucky. See Cochrane, "Ridgely," p. 302.

[55] On Dec. 16, 1818, a committee was appointed on the motion of George Robertson (1790-1874) Congressman of Kentucky (1817-1821) recommending the propriety of organizing Arkansas as a separate territory inasmuch as the northern half of the Missouri Territory was about to achieve statehood. See Herman von Holst, *Constitutional and Political History of the United States* (8 vols., Chicago, 1889-1892), I, pp. 357 and 372.

we observe that the greatest successes in the world to seem to have been where the wind & tide were both opposed to the man. He then was obliged to breast the difficulties, & his exertions were so increased thereby as to overcome them. It is useless however for me to be preaching this way & endeavoring to infuse such ideas into the mind of another. If they do not spring up in his own mind & rise from his own observation & determination, all such preaching is mere words to the mind. Every man after all carves out his own career & fills it in his own way.

You have mistaken me if you have understood me as undervaluing study before practicing the law. Without study nothing can be done. The question is whether study before practice or during the practice is most efficacious. I contend for the latter; &, while Mr. C[lay] seems to contend for the former, he is himself the best proof against his own doctrine. For who has succeeded better & who had studied less before practice. I know a gentleman eminent at the bar in Virginia who will hardly yet allow it possible that Mr. C. can have talent.[56] He knew him when Mr. C. was an under clerk in the court of Chancery & so ignorant when he moved to Kentucky that he cannot yet believe he could ever have acquired talent. And yet Mr. C's success is a much better proof than all opinions to the contrary. I do not know Mr. C. at all & judging from his speeches I sh[oul]d apprehend that he had too much of the Western wildness in his politics to be a sound Statesman, yet I consider him the most rising character now in the U.S. & the individual the most likely to be the next President. Yet such games can never be certain & I may be mistaken as to the issue of the present race for popularity. But whether Mr. C. shall distance all his competitors or not, it is evident that he will always act a conspicious part on the political turf, and I w[oul]d advise you to cultivate his good opinion w[hic]h you seem to have acquired.

I am glad you corrected my error as to your name. It is always well that errors be corrected, even venial errors, as is the misspelling of a proper name. Here there can be no grammatical

[56] Short's informant probably had been his college friend, William Nelson (1754-1813), the first United States District Attorney for Virginia (1789-1792), a judge of the Virginia General Court (1792-1813), and the third Professor of Law and Police at William and Mary (1804-1813). See Shackelford, "William Short," pp. 44 and 61; *Virginia Calendar of State Papers . . .* (11 vols. ed. by William P. Palmer *et al.*, Richmond, 1875-1893), VI, p. 77, *et passim*; X, pp. 91-94; and *William and Mary Quarterly*, first series, IV, p. 264, and XIII, p. 113.

rule; but usage is the rule. According to the old English usage such names were generally terminated by the *ley,* which probably had some significance in the origin, as Cholmondeley, Harley &c. But the Americans have generally lost sight of the origin & substituted the *ly* for the *ley*; and it has now become usage & must be obeyed. . . .[57] Adieu for the present. Let me hear from you, and believe me

Aff[ectionate]ly yours,
W. Short

P.S. I address this to Baltimore, as I have observed that the great post offices are more sure than the smaller ones in the country.

Phil[adelphi]a, 5 Feb. 1818

Dear Greenbury

. . . .[58]

I observe you speak very slightingly of the sovereign people. But if you wish to rise at all on the political stage (& every young man habitually wishes this) you should take care how you despise this sovereign. For of all sovereigns it is the most susceptible & the most dangerous to offend. A man advanced in life, who has turned his back on him & has nothing to ask of him, may indulge his opinion derived from experience. But it is dangerous for a young man to do so.

. . . .

W. Short

Phil[adelphi]a, 18 March 1818

Dear Greenbury

. . . .[59]

I think your uncle the Judge judged well in his advice to you as to repairing to the Clerk's Office, that you acted wisely in following that advice. If you wish to make an attempt at Baltimore, this is unquestionably the proper preliminary, & you have done well to lose no time as to it. The residence at Washington would no doubt have presented more pleasure, but there is more virtue in the residence at Rockville.

[57] Two sentences of Short's criticism of Ridgely's poor spelling are omitted.
[58] One and one-half pages are omitted, before and after this passage, repeating Short's aversion to "American" misspelling.
[59] One page repeating Short's strictures is omitted.

. . . . The choice of Hercules . . . is at every moment presented to a youth . . . . Whilst your cousin Charles [Wilkins Short][60] was studying here . . . , Chapman [his friend & fellow graduate was] allured by Pleasure, yielded to her meretricious call, gave up his heart & his head to what is very properly called puppy-love, married, has the pleasure probably of being a father as well as a husband & in consequence is now residing in some remote corner of Kentucky in the very desirable position of a Country Doctor, having been unable even to remain at Lexington, where . . . he could not have failed of being soon at the head of the practice in a growing City, a wealthy & thriving population.

The other [graduate, Charles Wilkins Short, was] beckoned by & obedient to the invitation of Virtue (here of course is meant The Pagan & not the Christian Virtue). . . . [He] remained single, went to Europe & pursued in the Universities there the continuance of his laborous & unending studies. . . . .[61]

W. Short

Phil[adelphi]a, 27 June 1818

Dear Greenbury

. . . .[62]

Generally speaking the luxuries & refinements of life may be expected to more advantage in our populous & long settled Cities, than in the new establishments of the West.

. . . .

W. Short

[60] Charles Wilkins Short (1794-1863), the son of Peayton and Maria Symmes Short, was William Short's favorite nephew. After he was graduated from Transylvania University in 1810, he began the study of medicine with his uncle Dr. Frederick Ridgely at Transylvania. In 1813 he went to Philadelphia, lived with his uncle William Short for a while, and became the private and beloved pupil of the celebrated Professor of Anatomy, Dr. Caspar Wistar (1761-1818), who served on the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania from 1787 to 1818. There C. W. Short earned an M.D. in 1815. After practicing medicine and botany in Kentucky, he became Professor of Materia Medica and Botany first at Transylvania, 1825-1837, and then at Louisville Medical Institute, 1837-1848. His uncle William's generosity permitted him to retire to research in his own herbarium of 15,000 species. See Robert Peter, *The History of the Medical Department of Transylvania University* (no. 20 in Filson Club Publications, Louisville, 1909), pp. 78-82.

[61] One page of Short's repetitous strictures is omitted.

[62] All but one sentence of this two-page letter of carping repetition is omitted.

Phil[adelphi]a, 6 Jan. 1819

Dear Greenbury

. . . .[63]

As Mr. Clay who seems to be much your friend is not sanguine as to your success in pursuit of the place [a presidential appointment as Territorial Secretary of Arkansas], there w[oul]d seem to be great doubt. . . . Nobody, I should think, could serve you more efficiently than Mr. Clay, & if he should ask it & show a desire to obtain it for you, it w[oul]d seem to me that Mr. Monroe would not refuse it to him. . . . He [,Monroe,] cannot have an *iota* [of patronage] to spare to mere old & useless acquaintance. This is the footing on which I am with him. The simple courtesy of his enquiring particularly about me was mere words. . . .

W. Short

Philad[elphi]a, Feb. 9, 1819

Dear Greenbury

Your letter from Washington was rec[eive]d yesterday. I will with great pleasure write to Mr. Monroe,[64] since Mr. C[lay] thinks it will be of service, although I think myself that he is in this mistaken. In Mr. Monroe's situation he cannot, if he were so disposed, attend to the recommendations of merely old friends. He is obliged to consult the powers that be, that is those who make & can make Presidents, viz. the people, or more precisely the leaders of the people. As your competitors will probably have taken the precaution to get their recommendation, I think that you will stand little chance if you have not done it too. Mr. C's support will be great, but your competitors may weight down this by the number of them. You should endeavor to get recommended by Johnson of K[entuck]y[65] & all

[63] All but five sentences of this two-page letter of carping repetition is omitted.

[64] Short and Monroe had come to know one another during the early 1780's when the latter read law under Jefferson and both were friendly rivals for Jefferson's esteem and patronage. Years later, Short wrote to Jefferson on July 4, 1817, that he had always felt "great goodwill towards Monroe" whose "heart was always good" and whose judgement "must have matured" in the course of long experience in public affairs. Coolidge Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society. See also Shackelford, "William Short," pp. 52, 64, 79 and 87.

[65] Richard Mentor Johnson (1780-1850), Vice-President during Van Buren's administration, was a Kentuckian by birth, and grew up at Lexington. He studied law under George Nicholas and James Brown at Transylvania before admission to the bar in 1802. He was in the state legislature before serving as a thorough-

other talking members of Congress, particularly those from the West. Johnson, I believe, is on the side of the administration, & more intimate or more in favor than Mr. Clay. I have never understood from you whether you have made an application for the place nor how it is done. Did Mr. C. speak to Mr. Monroe on the subject when you visited him together, or did you make your application in writing? & to whom was it addressed: to Monroe, or to one of the heads of departments? I suppose there is some fixed mode for such applications. Let me know what steps you take. You should get G[enera]l Harrison also to support you. I have no doubt he would do it if not pre-engaged to some other.

The object of the present letter is simply to request you to let me know how you would wish the letter to Mr. Monroe to be disposed of. Do you wish me to inclose it to you, or shall I direct it to him & send it by the mail as usual? I will do whichever you please & am convinced that in neither way will it be of any service. And I write it merely to oblige you & to prove that I am willing to act for your interests even where I have no hope of doing any good. If I could hope this it w[oul]d be much more agreeable, of course.

As you have determined to apply for the place, I w[oul]d advise you to lose not a moment & get support from all influential personages in Congress that you can, & at the same time not to count on success so that you may not be disappointed.

I direct this letter [to the care of William G. Ridgeley at Georgetown, D.C.,] as you prescribe, but the name seems to be your own. Let me hear from you immediately & believe me ever & truly

Your affect[ionate]ly
W. Short

Philad[elphi]a, Feb. 18th, —19

Dear Greenbury

Your letter of the 15th was rec[eive]d yesterday. I lose no time in replying to it [to the care of W. G. Ridgeley at George-

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going Jeffersonian in the United States House of Representatives, 1807-1819. He fought and was wounded in the Battle of the Thames, in which he is said to have killed Tecumseh. In the United States Senate, 1819-1829, he supported Clay until after 1824, when he turned to Jackson. See Thomas P. Abernethy, "Richard Mentor Johnson," *DAB*, X, pp. 114-116.

town], because I w[oul]d advise you to lose no time in procuring as much support & as many supporters as you can from the Western members of Congress, particularly Kentucky. I infer from your letter that as yet nothing has been done in this way; & if so I sh[oul]d think your chance bad indeed. I hardly think your competitors have been as dilatory. As some of them have already applied to Mr. Clay, you may be assured they applied also to others, & probably forestalled you. As far [as] I see, this desire of yours, or application for the appointment has been confined to Mr. Clay & yourself. You could not apply very well to the President before the creation of the office, but you should either be yourself or by Mr. Clay have secured the Kentucky delegation, & all other important characters from the West. At least this is my mode of viewing the subject. However I know very little of the mode of doing [such business in Washing]ton. Mr. C. will be better able however to instruct you on this. . . .

I saw here a few days ago a Mr. [Edward] Coles,[66] who long resided at Washington as Secretary to Mr. Madison, & I enquired of him who would be the best support in such a case. He mentioned Johnson of Kentucky & others of the delegation whose names I do not recollect, & also Mr. Crittenden of the Senate.[67] But Mr. Clay will best know who shall be able perhaps to procure their support if he sh[oul]d take up the thing with zeal. I know Eppes from Virginia, a Senator, & can introduce you to him if you think it worth while. My own [opi]nion is that Mr. Clay can serve you more effectually by procuring you the sup-

[66] Edward Coles (1786-1868) was a native of Albemarle Co., Va., who attended Hampden-Sydney and William and Mary but did not take a degree because of his health. Pres. Madison made him his private secretary, 1809-1815, and sent him to Russia as a special courier in 1816. Coles determined to remove from Virginia to free soil in 1818 and settled at Edwardsville, Illinois, where he freed and endowed his slaves. After being Registrar of the Land Office there, he was elected Governor of Illinois, 1822-1826. See Wayne E. Stevens, "Edward Coles," *DAB*, IV, pp. 296-297.

[67] John J. Crittenden (1787-1863) was born in Woodford Co., Ky., not far from Peyton Short's estate. He read law under George M. Bibb at Lexington before finishing his legal study at William and Mary in 1807. After practicing law briefly, he served as Attorney-General for the Illinois Territory, 1809-1810, and in the Ky. militia, 1811-1814, seeing service in the Battle of the Thames. In the Kentucky House of Representatives (1811-1817) he was elected Speaker (1815-1817), before filling an unexpired term in the United States Senate, 1817-1819. Originally a lukewarm Jacksonian, he became a strong Clay man by 1824. He was both a foe of slavery and of abolition. Subsequently Crittenden held many high offices, but he is best known for his efforts to preserve the Union by compromising the secession crisis in 1860-1861. See E. Merton Coulter, "John J. Crittenden," *DAB*, IV, pp. 546-549.

port of others than by his own direct application; but this is mere conjecture growing out of my conviction that, although he & Monroe may shew smiling faces to each other, there can be no cordiality; & that M. w[oul]d rather appoint you on the recommendation of the K[entuck]y delegation generally than on Clay's. At any rate you sh[oul]d lose no time in getting Mr. C. to secure for you the influence of that delegation & all the others he may think necessary.

I will with pleasure write to Monroe, but I really do it merely to shew you my wish to oblige you. It cannot serve you at all. M. could not if he were so disposed, consult his own wishes against those of influential men in his appointments. He holds his office on tenure. And he, as well as others situated like him, are necessarily more led by those they fear than those they love. I am not of course in the first class & not enough in the second to have any weight with him. The only relation betwixt us is that of old acquaintance in the early part of our lives; but time & absence have long obliterated this. And his enquiries of you about me were mere words of course, which [all having possessed diplomatic][68] experience understand perfectly.

I knew by reasoning *a priori* that Monroe could not be influenced by me. . . . A man who chose to think otherwise begged me some years ago when M. was Sec[retary] of State to recommend him. I yielded to his intreaty, though I did not yield my opinion which was founded on the nature of things. The event was as I anticipated. The competitor was supported by some members of Congress. As you wish this office, I wish you success; though I do not expect it. I think it w[oul]d have been better if you had thought more of it. If you do not succeed, it will be a loss of time, & if you do succeed it will be a loss of your profession, for I do not believe a word of its aiding you in your practice, but the contrary. As is vulgarly said, between two seats one falls to the ground. Candidly I am much dismayed as to your success from seeing the manner in which you have been nibbling at the profession, & then running off from the Court under the idea that no important cause was coming on, & going in pursuit of another object. This shews you to be a true son of your mother; this is a true Short. I sh[oul]d very probably have acted as you did, & there is not a more certain

[68] Conjectural phrase torn from letter is supplied in brackets.

way of not succeeding than this nibbling at difficult things & taking firm hold of nothing. This is the way with all the Shorts & I never knew one of them to succeed in anything. There is a want of firmness & steadiness in them naturally even when they have only one object in view; but when they have two or more, it is sure to become a mere nibbling a little at one & a nibble at the other & so on, whereas nothing can insure success but a firm & inflexible adhesion to one thing, looking neither to the right or to the left. Had this been your case, you would before this time have made your *début* in the court & satisfied yourself as to your chance of success in this part of the world. This point w[oul]d have been now decided & your mind fully made up to stay in these parts, or move to the Westward, & then no time w[oul]d have been lost in nibbling in the true Short way. And I w[oul]d now advise you to lose no more time, but to fix on one thing or another & fix on it most inflexibly. If you can get this office, take it & make the most of it as advancing your professional pursuits; but always consider this as the principal & any place as merely accompanying [it]. [The] law is the peerage in this country & a man who stand [well at] the bar may consider himself as *primus inter pares,* that is the first or among the first men in his district, which is all that is necessary.

You say the law for the Arkansas Territory will be passed on in a few days, but it seems to me Congress have their hands so full & their time is so short that they will hardly be able to attend to this. I will address my letter directly to Monroe by mail. I shall be glad to hear from you as often as convenient & am, dear Greenbury,

Affect[ionate]ly yours
W. Short

Philad[elphi]a, March 29, 1819

Dear Greenbury

Your letter from Ell[icot]t's Mills of the 22nd inst. (postmarked the 26th) is this moment received. Your preceeding letter from Washington of the 6th inst. was rec[eive]d in due course. I have not answered it, because you appeared then to be on the wing, & as I did not know whether you would fly. I did not know how & where to address my letter. I presume now [that] a letter directed as formerly to the care of Judge

Ridgely [at Ellicott's Mills] will find you & I lose no time in writing to you. In your letter of the 6th you say I am mistaken in attributing this vacillation in your projects to any fickleness of your own disposition, for that the great *outline* of your life is chalked out by your father &c. Now admitting this, as is very natural, what on earth has that to do with your going to Court to make a *début,* just sounding the matter *re infecta* in another pursuit? This of course must have had its origin in your own disposition, rather than in your father's directions, & had your mind been bent with vigor on the *début,* you would have made it & complied with your father's [will] also. But I know how useless it is to suppose it to be possible to change the nature of a person by successful counsel. It is always troublesome to attempt it, & always also unavailing. As well therefore for my sake as yours [for me to] not urge you in any way. You must either follow your own disposition or conquer it yourself. For be assured this can be done by no other person for you. And until your mind is brought of itself to seize with energy a perseverance on the line you are to pursue, you need not count on success.

You are not to understand that I mean by this to criticize your pursuit of the Secretaryship. If your father thought this for your & his advantage, he was right to direct it & you were right to obey. But it is evident that less time might have been lost in it, or less obstruction allowed to your commencement of the practice at Montg[omer]y [County's] court or some other. It is from slight indications of this kind that the leading disposition can be judged of, as a mere fether enables you to judge how the wind blows.

The migratory disposition which seizes all men in this country often makes them believe that the mere act of going to a distant country will enable them to make a fortune &c. This often happens, but much more often fails. Success depends much more on the individual than on the place he inhabits. We have a most remarkable instance of this in our own family, your uncle & my brother [Peyton Short]. He moved to Kentucky in a time when every step was fraught with danger, but also when every district of country was a source of wealth. What have been the consequences? That after all his labor, pains, & perils he has lost his patrimony instead of making a fortune. Whilst

others who have remained quiet in the country from which he emigrated have by patience & perseverance lived comfortably, happily & acquired a competence for their families.

I will not pretend to offer an opinion as to your career in opposition to your father's. It would be idle & foolish to do so, for I have not the same *data* to judge on. But it would seem to me that so far as you are to be the protector of your mother & sisters & with your father's fortune in the neighborhood of Lexington, it would have been much more natural for you to have set down with vigor in the practice of the law at Lexington than anywhere else, provided your industry & talents would have enabled you to have succeeded there. It would have acquired greater efforts of course. But there is a certain degree of patient & laborious drudgery which insures success every & anywhere. Remember that I offer no advice on this subject, with which I am entirely [unac]quainted & really not competent to give any. Indeed, I would not have said as much if I had not thought it would [ha]ve any weight whatever in any decision relative to the business. For after all as a man must rise or fall by his own disposition, no one can judge as well as himself of the line he ought to adopt for his pursuits in life.

There were some parts of your letter of March 6 that I did not understand. 1. I infer from it that you had withdrawn your application for the Sec[retaryship] of Arkansas, before the place was given, in order to aim at that for Florida; but this is not very clear & therefore my inference may be wrong. Let me know how was this. 2. You say Clay, Johnson, [and] *Smith* all interest themselves in procuring this Florida Sec[retary]ship for you.[69] Now who is this Smith?[70] It is the first time you have mentioned his name. 3. You then say: "What Mr. Monroe told

[69] Florida became a territory in 1821 with Andrew Jackson as its first Territorial Governor and George Walton as its first Territorial Secretary. See James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson* (3 vols., New York, 1861), II, pp. 601, 619.

[70] Samuel Smith (1752-1839) of Baltimore became a Brigadier-General of Militia in 1794 after service during the Revolutionary War and Whiskey Rebellion. He was a member of the United States House of Representatives, 1792-1803 and 1816-1822, and of the United States Senate, 1803-1815 and 1822-1833. As a convert from Federalist leanings, he supported the Jefferson administration until about 1808; but his enmity to Gallatin and Madison caused him to become a *tertium quid*, opposing the latter's presidential nomination in 1808 and recharter of the Bank of the United States in 1811. In the Era of Good Feelings, he favored the Second Bank of the United States in 1816 and 1830, opposed Clay's American System, and coveted the speakership of the House. See Mary W. Williams, "Samuel Smith," *DAB*, XVII, pp. 341-342.

Gen[era]l Smith before I applied was I think tantamount to a promise that I should have the appointment." Is this the Gen[era]l Smith of Baltimore, & what did Mr. Monroe say to him?

James Monroe. 1758-1831.

So much for your letter of March 6. I will now proceed to that of the 22 just now received. As to the idea which you had of coming here to complete your law-library, it was certainly a very wild one & so much like some of my brother's aberrations that I am much struck with it. But those who are fond of rambling are never at a loss to find good apparent reason for peregrination. When I first returned to this country [from Europe in 1802][71] my brother [Peyton Short] was in the [state of New] Jersey, as he afterward informed me. He had his foot in the stirrup to set off for the Genessee Country in pursuit of some tenants who had fled from the Jersey land without paying their

[71] Short returned to the United States from Europe in 1802 after an absence of almost eighteen years. His second stay in Europe was between 1808 and 1810. See Shackelford, "William Short," pp. 493, 518.

rent. Now one moment's reflexion would have taught my brother that in the first place, if he should find these tenants & receive their rents, yet the expences of the journey without counting the loss of time would amount to more than the rents; further, that there were ten to one against his finding them & one hundred to one, if he should find them, against their being able to pay, if willing; & thus furnished to himself this pretext for undertaking it, as men are prone to deceive themselves in favor of their own intentions. Fortunately in this instance my brother heard, the moment before his departure, of my having arrived in the country & being at the Berkeley Springs in Virginia;[72] & as journeying was all he wanted, this answered as well, & accordingly he gave up the Genessee trip & came to the Springs. Now in your case one moment's reflexion would have taught you, supposing you should find the supplement to the library which you came in pursuit of, that the journey would cost more than the price of the books at fall price; further that there were many chances against your finding at auction precisely the books you wished, & as many more against your finding them at half price &c &c. But it seems to me quite premature to be procuring a law library before you know where it is to be sent. If you purchase it now & should send it to Lexington & then go to Florida, there would be then a newer & longer voyage. I advise you to settle yourself first & procure your books afterwards, & then procure only a very few books. More than those absolutely necessary would be only a burthen in your unsettled condition, without counting the expence. Only a few can ever be necessary in the places to which you seem now destined, the new countries. I advise you then not to let the trip to Philad[elphia] interfere with your business either of practice or of settlement. The appointment to the Florida

[72] This spa, the first of the famous Springs of Virginia, is 40 miles north of Winchester, Va., near the Potomac. Originally called Bath, the town in the early nineteenth century "abjured its imitative name" and became Berkeley Springs. Early patrons included Lord Fairfax, George Washington, the Custises, the Carrolls of Carrollton, and Baron and Madame de Riedesel. In 1784 the *Maryland Gazette* announced that a resident troupe of comedians would perform at Bath during the summer season. Otherwise, billiards, picnics, high teas and dancing provided entertainment for those not too wearied by the cure. James K. Paulding declared Berkeley Springs were "as gay, as fashionable, and far more delightfully situated than any I have ever visited," including Ballston Spa. See Percival Reniers, *The Springs of Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1941), pp. 33-41. William Short visited Berkeley Springs in 1802. See Shackelford, "William Short," p. 496.

Sec[retary]ship can not, of course, take place before the next session of Congress. Will you not therefore be obliged to wait for that? If so, I w[oul]d advise your trying yourself in the meantime, as you intended, at the Montg[omer]y court or some other—& that without waiting for an important cause. It is well to try your aims. This will at least oblige you to keep them from rusting. On the subject of our Virginia relations,[73] we have none there that are very near, or with whom I am in habits of much acquaintance. Nor are any of them on your road.

Let me hear from you & believe me, as I am with great truth

Yours affect[ionatel]y
W. Short

Philad[elphi]a, April 13, 1820

Dear Greenbury

I had been a long time waiting in the hope of hearing from you, when I received a few days ago your letter of the 22 ulto. [from Lexington, Ky.]. Although it enters into fewer details as to yourself than I could have wished, yet I am glad to receive it. The last I had heard about it (it is a long time ago now & I do not recollect who it was that gave the information) was that you had gone somewhere into the country to study the law, or something like this. I did suppose then there was some mistake, as it seemed to me your course of elementary study at least was completed long ago, although your practice had not yet begun. The cause of this I am unacquainted with & will not pretend to judge of, although I should not fear to say there can be no good, or at least no proper, cause for it; or rather perhaps that, cause or no cause, the symptom is a very unfavorable one. Where there is so much apathy in beginning, it is fair to presume there will be more in pursuing the practice, & we know that apathy is fatal in a race of this kind where so many of the concurants will be sure to have so much energy. If you really think that you are making a real progress by this nibbling about, or if you expect you are all at once to make a high success at the business when you do begin after so much preliminary, you will find yourself much mistaken, I apprehend. In the ordinary progress

[73] Short was not on good terms with his only close kin surviving in Virginia, Henry and Robert Skipwith, having been forced to sue the former in 1802 to recover $15,000. See Shackelford, "William Short," p. 510.

of such matters, begin when you may or how or where you may, it is slow & arduous. There must be some years of apprenticeship in the practice, after beginning, as well as in the study of the law. And every prudent person should make up his mind to this & be prepared for it. There are some few cases to be sure where a prodigy of genius or talent oversteps time & mounts at once to the head. And so that as some few persons who draw the highest prize in a lottery. But should a man be foolish enough therefore to count on that good fortune for the foundation of his fortune, he will be sure to find himself disappointed. Let everyone therefore who hopes for success in the practice of the law take *patience* & *perseverance* as his motto. These never yet, if truly adopted & followed, failed to secure a certain degree of success to the votary. And thus it is that we often see men of mediocrity succeed in this line most wonderfully, whilst those who are considered as possessing a much higher degree of genius fail altogether.

I would recommend it to you to consider the example of your cousin John [Cleves Short], not with a view to following it, but precisely to avoid it. I shall never forget his most curious progress. I remember receiving a letter from him a few months, or at least a very short time after his debut, in which he wrote in the most desponding manner as to his prospect, from the great number of lawyers &c &c; and his conviction that he should never be able to earn salt to his bread &c. He probably had counted on making one of those high jumps which are equivalent (& about as much to be counted on) to the highest prize in a lottery. His next letter about it three weeks after this informed me, *mirabile dictu*! that he was married. Now here was a man who had not bread himself, & who had just discovered that he could not earn salt to his bread, & who followed up this discovery by taking a wife on his hands. Some said that this would have a good effect, as it would stimulate him &, by his feeling the necessity of exertion, would force him to success. I was not myself for a moment the dupe of this delusion. On the contrary, I did believe what has turned up—that this would add to his discouragement & with such a load about his neck he would be the more desponding. He very soon gave up the bar in despair & as you know made himself a laboring farmer in the country. There was no need of prophecy to know he could

never support a family by the labor of his own hands, and as a relief he was willing to accept a miserable place of Judge on a temporary appointment at about $300 per annum. At the last meeting of the Legislature they were to appoint permanently to this place & he wrote me that he had little hope of being the successful candidate. I have never heard what was the issue of the election. It is difficult to suppose if he would have had patience & perseverance at the bar that his situation could have been as helpless as this, however slow & arduous his progress might have been. But he persuaded himself that he could not or ought not to remain at the bar, because it was occupied by a parcel of adventurers &c &c. He took a kind of sentimental disgust to the profession & was soothing himself with this kind of illusion, one truly ridiculous, when it is considered that some of the most destiny-wished characters of the country have remained at the bar during the greater part of their lives notwithstanding there are & always have been & always must be so great a number of adventurers there. But the truth is that he failed in his entry on that profession, or did not meet with the rapid success he had expected; & this, eating on the fickleness of his disposition & his mortified pride, made him renounce [that profession] & take cover under a sort of sentimental disgust. I do not doubt he has often since repented of having yielded to this. But it is always more difficult to return back than go forward. What he will do I do not know. But I can scarcely conceive a less desirable situation for a man of proper feeling & proper pride than to have a wife & family on his hands without the means of providing for them, or without the means as he expected it before his marriage of earning salt to his bread. This is one of the follies that people are more apt to fall into in this country than any other, because subsistence is more easily procured here than in any other. But they should consider that what is subsistence for the family of a day laborer is not subsistence for a family of a gentleman or of any born & educated in the habits of a gentleman, & who of course a wife of similar situation.

I have not space left, & I am sorry for it, to shew you the fallacy of all you say after some of the ancients about riches. All young men without experience naturally adopt a language of this kind. They have seen it in all the renowned authors, the objects of their younger worship; but it is all "*Vox & praeterea*

nihil."[74] Horace, like most of the fraternity of poets being . . . against riches, but none of them ever really refused them or would have refused. In fact money is the representation of the enjoyment that all men value. How idle then to pretend to despise it. Horace, for instance, loved good old Falernian wine, & would make every sacrifice to procure it; how then can he pretend to make us believe that he really despised money by which he could command it. Are we to suppose he had rather beg it? Money is the most powerful agent among men. How then can men pretend to despise it? I have known a great many of those philosophical . . . despisers of money,[75] & I have never known any who were really more fond of it, or of what it could procure. Seneca was rich & refused himself nothing. He might therefore at his ease spin out fine phrases about abstinence & the contempt of riches &c &c. These phrases do no harm because nobody acts up to them. But if they did they would be sure to repent of it. Read & admire these most pleasing authors, but laugh at their philosophy as they have never failed to do at all who believed them. You say now in your P.S. [that] it [is] your intention if well enough by the [time of] the next court to apply for admission to the bar. It cannot require any robust health to apply for admission, I sh[oul]d think, & indeed dear G. it is time you were admitted & considered as a member of a bar somewhere. I am glad you seem now to have fixed on Lexington. It is a thing I should not like to give advice on. Everyone is most satisfied when he decides such cases for himself. But Lexington holds out many causes of preference to you, even if your progress there should be slower than elsewhere. It is always best to continue where one's family is known & respectable. Besides you would be near to them to attend to them in the event of your father's inability or death. As to Mr. C[lay], I think one wrong to count on him; it is best not to count on

[74] Literally: Voice, and nothing more. Shakesperian equivalent: Sound and fury, signifying nothing.

[75] Short may have thought of his former acquaintance, Marie-Jean-Antoine-Nicholas Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet (1745-1794), the *philosophe*, mathematician, and Academician whom Short knew because he was an intimate and Condorcet the protégé of the La Rochefoucauld d'Enville family. In the French Legislative Assembly and Convention between 1791 and 1793, Condorcet forsook the liberal nobles and became a Girondist. Proscribed by the Convention, he died in jail soon before he was to be guillotined. See Anonyme, "Marie-J.-A.-Nicholas Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet," *Biographie Universelle* (85 vols., ed. by Joseph F. and Louis G. Michaud, Paris, 1811-1862), IX, pp. 403-407.

anyone at the bar. Mr. C., by his connexions, might facilitate first steps in business, but that is all; & this advantage w[oul]d be balanced by his overshadowing you. Yet I would dissuade you from a connexion with him, but I would not advise you to wait one moment for it.

My love to my sister so dear. Bless you & believe me

Aff[ectionate]ly yours
W. Short

Philad[elphi]a, Oct. 31, 1821

Dear Greenbury

Your letter of the 2nd inst. was received here on the 19th. I was much pleased to hear from you, & I need not repeat what I have often told you that you will always give me pleasure by thus recollecting me—and particularly by not waiting for letter for letter, as you are too much disposed to do, after the example of all that to whom writing is burthensome. But you have not this pretext for your late silence. Your letter previous to this of Oct. 2 was July 24. I answered this letter on the 14th of Aug. Of course, the latest letter was from me, & thus you were in my debt. But I do not wish our correspondence to be considered as an affair of Debtor & Creditor, for I am old now & must claim the privilege of age & not be held to give letter for letter. If against my claim of age you should be disposed to set off your constant employment, I will tell you that for many years of my life I was as incessantly employed as anybody can be, & yet I never neglected my private correspondence on account of my public duties; &, those I may say, I filled with undeviating exactitude. Although it may appear a paradox, I really found my private correspondence easier then, than now that I have nothing to do. When at my study & seated at my table, I never found it impossible to write a letter or two on any one day or night. It was at night I generally wrote such letters, & they only caused me to go to bed a little later, w[hic]h did not prevent my getting up at the usual hour the next morning.

I was particularly pleased to see from your last letter that you were now seriously engaged in your profession [and address this letter to you, a counsellor of Law at Lexington]. It was really time, & I very much feared that the procrastinating course which [you] followed might damp that ardor with which every profession ought to be commenced. Your success now, my dear

Greenbury, must depend altogether on yourself & on your own exertions. This is the case with every calling & every situation in life. No man ever succeeded by other means, or by the aid & efforts of others. It is a great advantage for you certainly to have the connexion & countenance of such a man as Mr. Clay, considered at the outset. But remember well that, if you allow yourself to rely exclusively on this, it will in the end pose a real disadvantage to you. I think it is fortunate, after all the plans of settlement which you had in comtemplation, that you fixed on Lexington. It must be indeed gratifying to your best & most affectionate of mothers. And what so pleasing to a good & genuine heart, as the idea of returning by efforts of your own the anxious face & sollicitude which a loving mother has ever felt for us. Placed at Lexington, you may always be a consolation to your mother & a comfort to your sisters. There cannot be on earth a more enviable situation for a dutiful & affectionate son.

I am sorry you were not more particular in speaking of the cause w[hic]h occupied you & in which the Judge obliged you to proceed against your earnest request for delay on account of the fatigue to all parties concerned. Why did you not tell me how you performed? What was the nature of the cause, its duration, its purpose, &c &c. You ought not to fear being too minute or too full when you write to me about yourself. Let me know when & where you made your maiden speech, & what was the success of it. Let me know whatever concerns your progress in your profession. Be assured, my dear Greenbury, that I feel real interest in whatever concerns you.

As you make no mention of your health, I hope it is now restored. Attend to your diet, not as a valetudinarian, but as a man of sense accustomed to consider cause & effect. Be regular in your habits, & even a weak constitution may be fortified. My own is of that description. The diet & the kind of life w[hic]h I see many others adopt would make me unquestionably an invalid. But by simply viewing myself, seeing & attending to what was injurious & what agreed with me, has enabled me to enjoy as good health as most people.[76] I seldom refuse myself anything that I like, but fortunately I soon cease to like anything that I

[76] William Short was in 1821 almost sixty-three years old. He lived twenty-seven more years before dying at the age of ninety-one years and two months. His care in dieting became almost a fetish in the 1830's, but he always emulated Jefferson and Wythe in their frugal and heavily vegetarian diet, avoiding butter, meat and hot bread in particular.

find injurious to me. I have thus lost all fondness for butter, & very seldom eat it except now & then at dinner when it is remarkably good, & this of course with cold bread. Hot bread with butter swimming on it is more than my stomach can bear. *Green* tea also, I have found injurious, & have now a real distaste for it. My breakfast therefore consists, as I believe you know, of *black* tea only, & that very weak, into which I break very brown & dry toast. This seems to me to keep the body regularly open & does not burthen the stomach. And with these two items, an open body & a free stomach, health is almost inevitable, except as to endemics or any general disease, w[hic]h general health does not guarrantee us against.

I am much pleased that you visited Mr. Jefferson.[77] He is among the remarkable men of his time; & every young man ought to have seen him. I am surprized that you should so soon have got into a controversy with him, as I infer from your letter you were only a few hours with him. It is always well, however, to have independent opinions of our own, & to be able to support them with becoming freedom.

Upon the subject of my poor dear Sister [Jane Short Wilkins] I have been long prepared for the gloom & despairing view which you take of it, & which alas! I fear is the only view that the nature of the case well admits of.[78] It gives me more anguish

[77] It is uncertain when in the summer or autumn of 1821 Ridgely visited Thomas Jefferson at Monticello. Short wrote to Jefferson concerning young Ridgely's visit as follows: "I have lately received a letter from a nephew of mine who went to pay his respects to you at Monticello. He speaks in high terms of the Architectural progress of the University. When he determined to take that route to Kentucky, he wrote to me from Baltimore to send him a letter of introduction to you. And with the *étourderie* of his age, requested me to send it to Fredericksburgh, through which place he was to pass. As his letter was written at the moment when he was leaving Baltimore, it was evident that my letter could not reach Fredericksburg before he would have left it. He fortunately met there, as he informs me, with a Mr. Taliaferro, who gave him a letter to you. He waited also on Mr. Madison, as he informs me, being carried by the stepson of that gentleman. To him, of course, I should not have given him a letter. For although I have never known the true cause of it, I have always known the want of friendly feelings on his part towards me. And yet I am fully persuaded, as you are so good as to say in your former letter, that you never heard but a sentiment of esteem for me from him. This he owed to his respect for you. These things are now the incidents of times long passed by & make but a feeble impression on my mind." Short to Jefferson, Philadelphia, Nov. 12, 1821; Jefferson Papers (microfilm), Library of Congress.

[78] Jane Short (1770-1821) married in Kentucky Charles Wilkins in 1792. She was the youngest child of William Short the Fifth and Elizabeth Skipwith Short. When William Short visited in Kentucky in 1803, he passed much of his time in the home of the congenial Wilkinses in Lexington. See Shackelford, "William Short," pp. 504-505, 536.

than any similar circumstance has caused me since the death of my angel of a mother. It is not for this angel of a sister that I feel. It is for those she leaves behind; for herself, she will be in a happier & a better world. Her good husband has regularly written to me once a week merely to inform me of the alarming state of my Sister. Not withstanding this painful task, for in his state of mind it was a most painful one, he has never ceased to attend so far to my state of anxiety as to write me on the fixed day (every Sunday) except in one or two instances when too much oppressed by his own feelings. Not withstanding that his letters did not disguise the progress of my poor dear Sister's disease, yet it was a real relief to be able to count with certainty on intelligence on a given day. But I feel that it must be too much now to ask of so suffering & distressed a husband. And therefore I requested him in a late letter to ask you to be so good as to take his place, & write me regularly one day in each week on this painful subject. I here, my dear Greenbury, make you myself the same request. Tell this good & kind friend that you will supply his place in writing to me; & regularly, my dear Greenb[ury], once in every week (say on Sunday, for instance) write to me . . . to say how my dear Sister has passed the preceeding days. This may be done in five minutes each time. And when you consider how many days of pain & anxiety you will spare me by a few minutes each week, I cannot think you will allow any inconvenience to prevent your regular appropriation of these few minutes to me. My last letter now from Mr. Wilkins was of the 1st inst. Today is also a day of the mail from Lexington, & it may bring me one from Mr. Wilkins. I am anxious to receive it & yet fear it. My poor Sister was so low when my brother wrote that everything was apprehended. My love to your dear Mother.

Yours affectionately
W. Short

P.S. Pray do not neglect to tell my brother from me that I have rec[eive]d his letter of the 13th, and as he did not state where he wished me to write to him, I addressed my answer to Hendersonville, to the care of Dr. [Charles Wilkins] Short.

Although the Short-Ridgely correspondence concludes when Greenbury William Ridgely was a rising young Kentucky attorney who enjoyed the patronage of Henry Clay (family tradi-

tion even says they were partners), his story did not end thus. After several years Ridgely decided to enter the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church. To fit himself for this calling, he entered and was graduated from the Theological Seminary at Princeton. While serving his first parish as the Rector of Newton, Maryland, he married a Miss Worth, by whom he had three children, the second of whom was named William Short Ridgely. Soon after his wife's death in 1841, the Reverend Mr. Ridgely accepted a call to become rector at Chester, Pennsylvania, where he engaged in the establishment of successful mission churches at Marcus Hook and Claymont.

Even though William Short's record of correspondence does not indicate that he wrote his nephew in the 1830's and 1840's, it may be presumed that the Reverend Mr. Ridgely was properly attentive to Short during his uncle's last years. Not long before his death in 1847, Short gave to him and to his other nieces and nephews $5,000 each. Although Ridgely did not share in the residue of the estate, he was able to retire from the active ministry in 1853 and to settle in Caroline County, Maryland, where he purchased an estate of between four and five thousand acres. For at least a decade he engaged in missionary work there and in adjacent counties, serving parishes which were without a rector. He spent his last years with William Short Ridgely near Hillsville in Caroline County, where he died in August of 1893 at the age of ninety-five years and three months and is buried in the Episcopal churchyard at Hillsville.[79]

[79] Cochrane, *History of Caroline County, Maryland,* p. 302; Shackelford, "William Short," pp. 530-531.

WARTIME DRAMA: THE THEATER IN WASHINGTON (1861-1865)

By MAXWELL BLOOMFIELD

WHEN Abraham Lincoln assumed the duties of the presidency in 1861, his capital—the symbolic center of the Union—was little more than a provincial Southern town. In outward appearance it still merited the judgment passed upon it twenty years earlier by Charles Dickens, who found it a "City of Magnificent Intentions," with "spacious avenues that begin in nothing and lead nowhere."[1] Major thoroughfares turned into hazardous mud traps in rainy weather; geese and pigs roamed freely over much of the downtown area; the city canal was an open sewer, into which dead animals were sometimes thrown. All business and governmental activity centered in a narrow area north of Pennsylvania Avenue, between the Capitol and the Executive Mansion; and the city's cultural life was similarly circumscribed.

At the outbreak of hostilities Washington boasted only one legitimate theater, the old Washington Theater at the corner of 11th and C Streets. Here the great stars—Joe Jefferson, E. H. Sothern, Charlotte Cushman—made occasional appearances, playing repertory engagements of one or two weeks with the assistance of a resident stock company. As a center for the performing arts, however, the Washington Theater left much to be desired. Built in 1822 as a public hall, its stage facilities were minimal and it converted all too easily during the off seasons into Carusi's Dancing Saloon. When utilized for theatrical purposes, it seated only several hundred persons, and was variously described by its patrons as "cozy" and "elegant" or "very small" and "miserable-looking."

News of the fall of Fort Sumter interrupted an otherwise promising comedy season and led to the temporary curtailment of all further productions. "The Washington Theater has been closed for the present," announced the *Evening Star* on April 22, 1861, "the condition of affairs here just now not being favorable to theatricals."

[1] Charles Dickens, *American Notes for General Circulation* (Boston, 1884), p. 316.

But a less cautious set of managers, after reviewing the situation, came to a different conclusion. One week later the theater reopened its doors to provide entertainment for the anticipated flood of transient soldiers and civilians soon to gravitate to the wartime capital. The experiment, measured by box office receipts, was an immediate success. By July 24th one newspaper critic reported: "Last night our theatre was full to overflowing, literally shaken down and running over with the throng that squeezed and elbowed its way into every nook and corner of the house. Seating the crowd was out of the question, and by nine o'clock, as far as getting in and out, 'it couldn't be had.' "[2]

Inevitably rival houses arose to contest the monopoly position enjoyed by the Washington Theater. John T. Ford opened Ford's Atheneum on March 19, 1862, in a building which had formerly housed the 10th Street Baptist Church; while Grover's Theater, on E Street some three blocks from the White House, presented its initial bill in April. Ford's at first accommodated twelve hundred persons; after its destruction by fire in the fall of 1862, it was rebuilt on a larger scale to seat an audience of twenty-four hundred, approximately the capacity of Grover's. These two "dramatic temples," along with the little Washington Theater, constituted the legitimate theaters of Washington during the war years.

But there were music halls as well, several of which presented plays and burlesque skits as part of their general program. Canterbury Hall, located on Louisiana Avenue near 6th Street, was at once the earliest and most successful of these haunts of the soldier and the tired businessman. From its opening in mid-November 1861 it provided a generous potpourri of songs, dances, comedy routines, circus acts and sensational melodramas which proved an irresistible lure to Washington audiences. Several blocks away, on 9th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, the Varieties Theater, a renovated carriage house, followed the same pattern with comparable success after it began operations in October 1862. Minstrel shows were occasionally staged at such lesser spots as Odd Fellows' Hall, Seaton Hall, and Philharmonic Hall.

The gaudier music halls of the Civil War era have not enjoyed a good press. Some contemporary journalists reported

[2] *Washington Evening Star*, July 24, 1861.

that Canterbury Hall and the Varieties were nightly crowded with "soldiers and roughs, screeching, catcalling, smoking and spitting."[3] And drinking, they might well have added, for the Canterbury at least boasted its own bar, where drinks sold for ten cents apiece. Through the years these criticisms have been magnified until the music hall in some recent studies begins to look more and more like today's "little art" theater. Margaret Leech, for one, argues: "Matinee performances, suitable for women and children, were sometimes offered on holidays, but otherwise, save for a possible spree, family men did not frequent the music halls."[4]

Such a picture draws too sharp a line between music hall entertainment and the legitimate stage. The real difference between them was more a matter of degree than of kind. Undoubtedly the music halls were livelier night spots, but they attracted the best available novelty acts and their farces and melodramas were often interchangeable with those performed at the allegedly "high class" legitimate theaters. During the war years the music halls likewise mounted more original patriotic plays and topical satires than the repertory-minded playhouses. While these new offerings were generally devoid of artistic merit, their undeniable popularity indicates that they filled a real need for audiences who desired to see more American themes dramatized.

The legitimate theaters catered to the same broad public taste and drew their audiences in large part from the patrons of the music halls. Even their programs bore the stamp of a strong family resemblance. Ford's and Grover's usually presented one or two short farces in addition to the main piece; songs were interjected into many plays, with a musical or dance number featured between the acts. There is little reason to doubt that clerks and their wives as well as workers and their wives—the lower middle class and the working class—patronized both types of entertainment indiscriminately. And the same might be urged of more fashionable upper income groups as well.

Certainly the comparative scale of prices supports this conclusion. At the legitimate theaters prices ranged from 75¢ to 25¢, with box seats selling anywhere from five to ten dollars. The

[3] Quoted in Margaret Leech, *Reveille in Washington* (New York, 1941), p. 276.
[4] *Ibid.*

music halls had only two price levels—50¢ and 25¢—with private boxes available at five dollars. To complete the picture, we have eye-witness testimony that the level of gentility among patrons of the temples of drama was scarcely overpowering.

If a gentleman were forced to sit in the back of the house, he needed, said the *Sunday Chronicle*, an umbrella and a life preserver to protect him from the sluices of tobacco juice which ran under his feet in a yellow sea, laden with peanut and chestnut shells.[5] He might also need protection from the crowd of "vulgar fellows" who nightly laughed and sneered at pathos and tragedy and walked out noisily on scenes they did not like. (Considering the acclaim that greeted such soggy melodramas as *East Lynne* during these years, the instincts of the rowdies may well have been sounder than those of contemporary critics.)

Indeed the ordinary playgoer of the Civil War era could respond wholeheartedly to almost any production, because the theater meant much more to him than it does to his twentieth-century counterpart. For him all the world *was* a stage, in a very literal sense; he tended to view life itself as a romantic spectacle. Hence the popularity of soldiers' theaters in military camps, where the recruits formed their own stock companies to present standard repertory pieces, sometimes assisted by one or two civilian stars in a rudimentary USO arrangement.

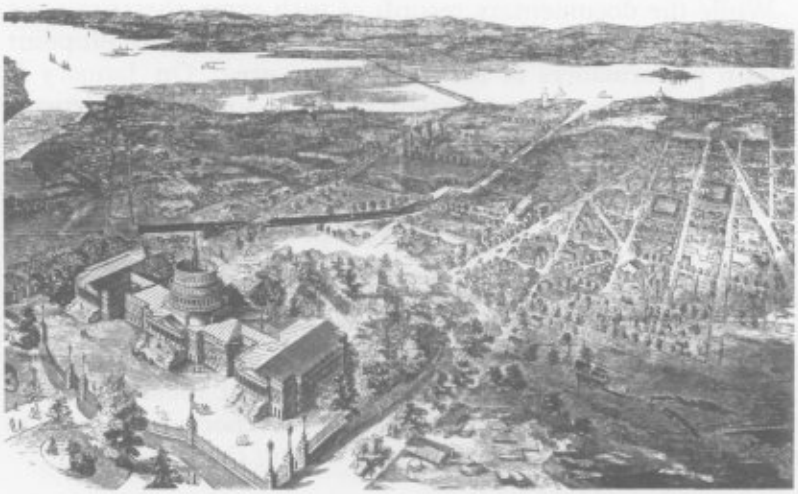
While the documentary records of such camp theatricals are virtually nonexistent today, scattered references do pinpoint certain performances in the Washington area. On January 1, 1862 the *Evening Star* reported that the soldiers of General Auger's brigade had erected a theater 40 by 80 feet, in which performances would shortly be given. A more circumstantial account of another military production appeared in the *Star*'s pages on February 27, 1862: "Miss Susan Denin and Ben. Rogers are now 'starring' it at a neat little theater established by the men of Gen. Birney's brigade. They are assisted by volunteer 'talent,' and the 'Lyceum' flourishes amazingly. The band of the Third Maine regiment furnishes the music." Further details of these theaters are lacking, although one of them was probably the "new frame army theater" which reportedly burned to the ground in Alexandria, Virginia, during the year 1863.[6]

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 277.

[6] J. M. Toner, *Notes on the Burning of Theatres and Public Halls* (Washington, D.C., 1876).

Toward the end of the war a unique military hospital theater developed in Washington as a result of the efforts of Dr. A. F. Sheldon, a surgeon who believed that the sick and wounded soldiers under his care needed mental as well as physical rehabilitation. A hall with a seating capacity of five hundred persons was accordingly erected at Campbell Hospital on North Seventh Street. Here in the spring of 1865 professional actors from the Washington Theater and Grover's performed their favorite roles with a supporting cast made up of hospital patients. Plays were presented regularly every Friday, and a high point occurred on March 17th when E. L. Davenport and J. W. Wallack starred in Tom Taylor's immensely popular comedy, *Still Waters Run Deep*.

Wartime civilians shared a similar passion for do-it-yourself theatricals. During the years from 1861 to 1865 such amateur groups as the Jefferson Dramatic Association, the Washington Literary and Dramatic Association, and the Washington Dramatic Club added their productions to the mass of other dramatic entertainment available to residents of the nation's capital.



"Balloon View of Washington, D.C."
Harper's Weekly, July 27, 1861.

At first glance the volume and variety of the wartime fare staggers the imagination. There were literally scores of plays to suit every taste, from farce to tragedy, and even after one makes due allowance for the periodic repetition of standard pieces inseparable from a stock company system, the picture remains kaleidoscopic. Yet beneath this apparent diversity lay a set of common assumptions and expectations that profoundly conditioned the entire theatrical scene. As one embattled critic summed up the situation in 1864: "This is the day of stage sensationalism."[7]

Any play, in order to succeed, had to appeal directly to the emotions of an audience through the presentation of larger-than-life characters involved in situations of uncommon romantic interest. Eccentric types filled the center of the stage and many an actor rose to stardom through his ability to wring tears or laughter out of a gallery of grotesque creations.[8] The shrewd homespun Yankee, the incorrigibly warmhearted Irishman, the simple happy darkey, the pathetic longsuffering heroine, the appallingly steadfast hero, and the unspeakably malign villain—all gamboled promiscuously through such favorite pieces as: *Therese, the Orphan of Geneva; Retribution; or, A Husband's Revenge; The Sea of Ice; or, A Mother's Prayer; Our American Cousin; Irish Boy and Yankee Girl; Camille; or, The Fate of a Coquette; The Hidden Hand; Robert Emmett, the Martyr of Liberty; The Flowers of the Forest; or, The Gipsy Flower Girl; Sketches in India; The Little Barefoot; The French Spy; or, The Storming of Algiers; The Gladiator; Willie Reilly and his Colleen Bawn; Margot, the Poultry Dealer; Rosedale; or, The Rifle Ball; Lady Audley's Secret; The Convict's Skull; or, Romar the Vagrant;* and *Gamea, the Hebrew Fortune Teller.*

As this random sampling suggests, most plays were either written by foreigners or designed to exploit foreign settings and themes. The most popular and prolific dramatists of the early 1860's were Tom Taylor the Englishman and the Dublin-born Dion Boucicault. Their works, old and new, proved sure-fire hits in wartime Washington, as did dramatized versions of the novels of Charles Dickens, Walter Scott, Charles Reade, and

[7] *National Intelligencer,* June 27, 1864.

[8] For an excellent general discussion of romanticism in nineteenth-century American drama, see: Richard Moody, *America Takes the Stage* (Bloomington, 1955).

Victor Hugo. Shakespeare's comedies and tragedies likewise enjoyed a successful revival every season, although the prevailing taste for sensationalism led most theatergoers to prize the action sequences and pratfall humor above subtler artistic values. From a production of *Macbeth* that emphasized battle scenes and supernatural trappings it was no great step to the spectacular staging of a leading sensation drama such as *The Sea of Ice:*

TABLEAU SECOND
THE SEA OF ICE

The entire stage is here occupied by an immense Sea of Ice in the Arctic Regions, (rendered so profoundly interesting by the researches of the lamented Dr. Kane) upon which Captain De Lascours, his wife Louise, his infant daughter Maria, and his faithful attendant Barrabas, cast adrift by the merciless Mutineers, have found temporary and fearful refuge. Gorgeous appearance of

AURORA BOREALIS,

Resplendent with its sun tinted, variegated hues; suddenly a storm arises, and the swelling ocean bursts the shackles which confined it, and then occurs the awful, the sublime spectacle of the

BREAKING UP OF AN IMMENSE SEA OF ICE.

Amid the deafening crash of its icy fragments the towering icebergs disappear, and the entire stage is filled with

A RAGING SEA OF BOILING FOAM.

With the tenacity of life the Captain and his wife cling to the fragements of ice, from which they are engulphed in the furious waters, while their child, tossed about on a single block, is left in the hands of an OMNIPOTENT POWER FOR SUCCOR. Appalling Tableau.[9]

While exotic locales and extravagant perils eased the labors of most sensation playwrights, a small number found sufficient romantic interest in the American scene. Such earlier hits as Joseph S. Jones's comedy *The People's Lawyer* (1839), Mrs. Sidney Bateman's satire *Self* (1856), and John Augustus Stone's Indian drama *Metamora; or, The Last of the Wampanoags* (1829) remained popular with Civil War audiences. In addition the wartime crisis stimulated the revival of a minor cycle of

[9] *Washington Evening Star*, Feb. 8, 1864.

"patriotic military dramas" centering about the American Revolution.

These plays—*The Days of '76; or, The Times that Tried Men's Souls; Horse-Shoe Robinson; or, The Battle of King's Mountain; The Black Rangers of the Wissahickon; or, The Battle of Germantown; The Pioneer Patriot; or, The Maid of the War Path*—paid tribute to the courage of colonial troops and appealed to sentiments of national pride and purpose. But as propaganda for the preservation of Mr. Lincoln's Union, their message was ambiguous, to say the least. Southern sympathizers as well as Unionists could readily identify with the cause of the oppressed colonists. In fact logic was on the side of the Secessionists, for the promotion of national self-determination was clearly not one of the war aims of the Lincoln administration.

Prompted perhaps as much by patriotism as by economic considerations, several Northern writers brought out their own "national dramas" during the Civil War, utilizing incidents of the contemporary struggle. By far the most effective of these newer military plays to be performed in Washington was Charles Gaylor's *Bull Run! or, The Sacking of Fairfax Court House.* Gaylor made no effort to deal with the underlying causes of the war, but his piece was filled with patriotic slogans and blood-stirring battle scenes, as a synopsis of the final act indicates:

> Act III.—The Female Spy in the Union Camp—New National Song, "The Battle-cry of Freedom"—Death of the Female Spy—Skirmish in the Vicinity of Bull Run—Look out for Bombshells—Charge of Black Horse Cavalry—Battle of Bull Run—Tableau.[10]

Bull Run played for one straight week at the Washington Theater in October 1862. Whatever its deficiencies as a work of art, its propaganda value was incontestable. "Long before the time of opening," reported the *Daily National Intelligencer,* "the doors are besieged by an eager crowd desirous of giving vent to their patriotism by their approbation of the Union sentiments with which the piece abounds. . . . Each scene is productive of the greatest amount of enthusiasm, and the presence of so many of our principal military officers, and their

[10] *Ibid.,* Oct. 20, 1862.

hearty recognition and endorsement of the play and its patriotic sentiments, at once attests its popularity among them."[11] Less impressive were two later productions: *The Battle of Antietam; or, The Death of General Reno* (December 1862) and *Beau Sickman; or, The Bushwhackers of the Potomac* (July 1864).

The image of war presented in the military play was a highly romantic one, in which youthful heroes engaged a treacherous foe in mortal combat, for the honor of their country and the love of their womenfolk. Much the same outlook prevailed, in cruder form, in the major music hall hits of the time, such as *Our Volunteers, The Seventh Street Dress-maker; or, The Union Martyr Girl,* and *The Dangers of a Dancing Girl.* The latter piece was a wild potpourri of patriotism, mother love, and sex, which well illustrates the depths to which wartime sensation drama often sank. The management of the Varieties Theater summarized the plot for the benefit of prospective patrons:

> The Home of the Dancer—The Phantom Mother—The Explosion in the Theater—The Blockade-runner's Den—The Abduction of the Danseuse—Death before Dishonor—The Duel by Torchlight. Also Double Music Hall Show.[12]

One other class of popular amusements exploited the war as a romantic spectacle. Beginning in the spring of 1863 Washington audiences were treated to a succession of "dioramas," "great stereoscopic panoramas," and "PANTECHNOPTOMON WAR ILLUSTRATIONS." By whatever name they were called, these programs featured a series of large-scale paintings depicting major battle sites and other locations connected with the war. The Washington Theater and Odd Fellows' Hall served as exhibition centers, with nightly performances resembling something between a modern light-and-sound production and an early moving picture display. Sometimes elaborate mechanical effects, such as moving figures re-enacting the strategy of a particular battle, added a third dimension to an otherwise static pictorial background. The public paid standard music hall prices to see these shows, whose promoters could ordinarily count on an engagement of several weeks, together with the possibility of an equally successful revival at some later date.

While advertisements proclaimed the accuracy of their specific

[11] *National Intelligencer,* Oct. 23, and 24, 1862.
[12] *Washington Evening Star,* Sept. 19, 1864.

details, the overall effect of the panoramas was anything but realistic. Most artists showed a preference for bathing their battlefields in moonlight or for paying undue attention to what one poster described as "VIEWS OF RUINS, SCENERY, EXQUISITE STATUARY, &c."[13] The grim face of war was concealed behind a welter of gadgetry which reduced the scale of violence to lilliputian proportions, in which form it afforded pleasurable vicarious thrills to stay-at-home audiences. "Go and see the fort blown up and the troops swallowed down," wrote an enthusiastic newspaper critic after a visit to Baum's diorama in 1864. "It is really a gigantic and exciting scene."[14]

These romantic tastes persisted down to the closing days of the war, when the last and greatest of the dioramas announced as its climax:

Ford's Theatre, Washington, D.C. 1893.
Maryland Historical Society Graphics Collection.

[13] *Ibid.*, May 19, 1863.
[14] *Ibid.*, Nov. 22, 1864.

GRAND BATTLE SCENE,
With an accurate view of the lines in front of Petersburg.

THE BATTLE FIELD AT NIGHT.
Introducing the most wonderful piece of mechanism, the DYING OFFICER AND HIS FAITHFUL STEED.[15]

Such sentimental idealism, echoed from pulpit and press as well as from the stage, goes far to explain the peculiar brutality and ruthlessness that characterized the "real" Civil War.

But if theatergoers viewed the battlefield through a reverential haze, they were uncommonly well informed concerning the seamier side of the war on the home front. In this area sensation dramatists, building upon a prewar tradition of urban muckraking plays, undertook to expose the manifold corruptions of wartime Washington, to the unfailing delight of crowded houses. A regular series of low-life melodramas developed to meet the demands of legitimate theaters as well as music halls: *Three Fast Men of Washington* (1862); *Belle of Washington* (1863); *The Female Pickpocket of Washington* (1864); and *The Workmen of Washington* (1865).

The most successful of these efforts proved to be *The Female Pickpocket,* which also appealed to the broadest cross-section of occupational groups:

MERCHANTS, STATESMEN, POLITICIANS,
TRADESMEN, MECHANICS, FIREMEN,
Go See Yourself on the Stage!
Rich Revelations Developed!
Now Let the Evil-Doers Tremble!
Ye Men of Guilt Yet High in Trust!
The Great Exposé of the City! The Life Local Drama of the Capital![16]

"If it is true," declared a bemused critic after attending an early performance, "it shows the existence of more crime than has been dreamed of, and if it is a work of the imagination it is very well got up. In either case it is worth seeing."[17]

Audiences apparently agreed, for *The Female Pickpocket* en-

[15] *Ibid.*, Mar. 21, 1865.
[16] *Ibid.*, Mar. 21, 1864.
[17] *Ibid.*, Mar. 23, 1864.

joyed an initial run of three weeks at the Varieties Theater in the spring of 1864, and was successfully revived for a week during the fall season.

In addition to full-length "local dramas" of city life, conditions in wartime Washington encouraged the production of a large number of topical skits and satires directed against bureaucratic mismanagement of the war effort. These comedy routines formed a staple ingredient of music hall programs and were sometimes presented by the legitimate theaters as curtain-raisers or short after-pieces. Some representative titles suggest their range of interest: *The Raw Recruits, Dr. Lincoln Outdone, J. J. of the War Department, Ten Days in the Old Capitol, Young America and Old Ireland; or, The London Correspondent in Camp, The Returned Volunteer, The Government Speculators, The Conscript, The Fortunes of War; or, The Boy of the Irish Brigade, Government Dispatches, Uncle Sam,* and *How to Avoid the Draft.*

While several of these sketches were built around an Irish character (such as "Paddy Murphy of the Irish Brigade"), most writers showed a preference for the stage Negro as a mouthpiece for their humorous commentary. The Civil War in fact coincided with the Golden Age of the "Ethiopian delineator," the white comedian who donned burnt-cork make up and frizzled wig to interpret the "mischievous darkey" for admiring audiences. Scarcely a month passed during the war when blackface comics were not displaying their "Negro eccentricities" somewhere in the Washington area. Whether they performed as individuals or in comedy teams at the music halls, or took the low-life roles in legitimate dramas, or appeared with traveling minstrel troupes, their influence was ubiquitous. They were the one permanent fixture of the wartime theatrical scene.

But the astonishing popularity of the stage Negro did not imply a corresponding public interest in his real life counterpart. Like other stock characters of the sensation drama, the happy darkey was an impossibly romantic creation, born in the minds of Northern white men whose sole object was to entertain. Ethiopian delineators sang, danced, and told funny stories; they burlesqued the foibles of white America; but they never attempted to penetrate into the black man's world or to understand his problems. Their prevailing mood was well captured by the playwright John F. Poole, a favorite with patrons of

Canterbury Hall, who managed to poke fun at both Jefferson Davis and *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in a typical blackface skit:

WHITE FOLKS? BRUDDERN AN' SISTERN, FELLER-CITIZENS, AN' ODER ANIMALS:

—De text for dis evening's discourse am taken from de ninety-fust volume of Shakspeare's comic song-book called Uncle Tom's Cabin. Has any ob you ladies or gemmen got de book wid you? If you has, open it at de nine hundred an' forty-fifth page, an' dar you will find it. De text am dis:

Let dogs delight to bark an' fight,
For 'tis deir natur to:
Let fleas and bedbugs nip an' bite,
An' skeeters suck you frough:
But Jeff Davis, you should never let
Yourself on treason sup;
Your little hands was never made
To bust de Union up![18]

Even the exceptional dramatist who purported to deal seriously with the slavery issue ended by yielding to the familiar stereotype of Negro attitudes and behavior. Dion Boucicault's melodrama, *The Octoroon; or, Life in Louisiana,* sidestepped the worst aspects of black slavery by concentrating on the tragic love of the young planter George Peyton for his "almost white" slave Zoe. The play, which was first performed in 1859 and subsequently revived many times during the war, owed its success in part to its air of benevolent neutrality concerning the deeper implications of the race problem. "The truth of the matter," wrote Joseph Jefferson, who played one of the leading roles, "is that it was noncommittal. The dialogue and characters of the play made one feel for the South, but the action proclaimed against slavery and called loudly for its abolition."[19]

Pete, an old Negro, expressed for Boucicault the feelings of the average slave toward the approaching sale of his master's debt-encumbered plantation:

[18] John F. Poole, "Dat's What's De Matter," reprinted in Richard Moody (ed.), *Dramas from the American Theatre, 1762-1909* (Cleveland, 1966), p. 490.

[19] Quoted in Arthur H. Quinn, *A History of the American Drama from the Beginning to the Civil War* (New York, 1943), p. 374.

> Cum, for de pride of de family, let every darkey look his best for the judge's sake—dat old man so good to us, and dat ole woman—so dem strangers from New Orleans shall say, Dem's happy darkies, dem's a fine set of niggers; every one say when he's sold, "Lor' bless dis yer family I'm gwine out of, and send me as good a home."[20]

More bite might have been expected from *Cudjo's Cave; or, The Battle-cry of Freedom* (1864), based upon a celebrated abolitionist novel by John T. Trowbridge. Unfortunately, in its transition from the printed page to the theater, it fell into the hands of John F. Poole, who turned it into a spectacular music hall attraction, complete with songs, patriotic tableaux ("The Old Flag Floats Again in Tennessee") and a thrilling forest fire scene which climaxed the second act. Among so many superfluous frills, the original message seems to have been lost; for, as one reviewer described the impact of the piece: "Curtailed as much as possible of all partisan allusions, its many excellent and amusing points must be seen to be appreciated; we promise all those who witness it a treat rich and racy."[21] Significantly, the same program heralded the "Return of the favorite Ethiopian Comedian, Billy West," who was to appear in a separate burlesque skit along with John Mulligan, "the unequalled Ethiopian."[22]

Only one other play brought the slavery question to the attention of Washington audiences during the war years. This was *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, probably the most successful work of theatrical propaganda ever performed in America. It had a curious and complicated history of production. After its premiere in Baltimore on January 5, 1852, a number of distinct versions appeared in theaters around the country. The popularity of the piece varied from script to script and from city to city. It was not a favorite in prewar Washington, and no attempt was made to revive it until the spring of 1863, when the Washington Theater performed it under circumstances that were admittedly risky, from a box office point of view. "The production of this play on Monday last," observed the *Star*'s drama critic, "was an experiment, for the management were not

[20] Dion Boucicault, *The Octoroon; or, Life in Louisiana*, reprinted in Arthur H. Quinn (ed.), *Representative American Plays* (New York, 1922), p. 449.
[21] *National Intelligencer*, May 19, 1864.
[22] *Washington Evening Star*, May 16, 1864.

fully aware how it would be received in this city."[23] In fact *Uncle Tom's Cabin* enjoyed a modest success, running for eight days to the accompaniment of a barrage of patriotic appeals from the management:

AN ERA IN HISTORY!

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN
AT THE
NATIONAL CAPITAL!

FREE SPEECH!
FREE PRESS!
FREE PEOPLE![24]

During the rest of the war the play was reintroduced only once. In August 1864 Canterbury Hall brought out a truncated version, emphasizing cake-walks, walk-arounds, and other minstrel show perversions of the plantation scene. In this form *Uncle Tom's Cabin* played for a week, along with a variety of shorter music hall acts.

The better adaptations of Mrs. Stowe's tale (such as the one by George L. Aiken) sought to portray a wider range of relationships within the Negro community than had previously been seen on the stage. Certain aspects of the conventional Negro stereotype came under attack as an effort was made to focus attention upon the basic humanity of the slave rather than upon his grotesque qualities. The new look was most evident in the case of the rebellious George Harris, a major character of heroic stature who defends himself against the charge that he is breaking the laws of his country by running away from his owner:

> *My* country! Sir, I haven't any country any more than I have any father. I don't want anything of *your* country, except to be left alone—to go peaceably out of it; but if any man tries to stop me, let him take care, for I am desperate. I'll fight for my liberty, to the last breath I breathe! You say your fathers did it; if it was right for them, it is right for me![25]

[23] *Ibid.*, May 23, 1863.
[24] *Ibid.*, May 20, 1863.
[25] George L. Aiken, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, reprinted in Moody, *Dramas*, p. 371.

Harris, however, is a light-skinned mulatto who can pass for white; and the same is true of his wife Eliza. They represent an elite leadership group among the slave population, whose more typical spokesmen are loyal old Uncle Tom (a close relative of Boucicault's Pete) and Topsy, a teenage version of the mischievous darkey of the music halls. Even the most compelling abolitionist drama could not avoid the preconceptions of a romantic age, and it is notable that when *Uncle Tom's Cabin* returned to Washington in the postwar years it was generally billed as a "startling sensation play."

With the coming of peace the nation's capital sank once more into cultural somnolence. As the flood of temporary residents receded, one wartime theater after another closed its doors. By the end of the decade only a single music hall and a legitimate theater were in active operation. The war itself had produced no enduring dramatic literature, and the old repertory favorites reappeared season after season, along with minstrel troupes and Ethiopian delineators. The Happy Darkey, who had presided symbolically over the course of the war, continued to mock the government's reconstruction efforts. While lawmakers struggled to hammer out the provisions of early civil rights bills, the general public flocked nightly to see the "laughable farce" of *Julius Crow's Trip to Congress.* In the sequel legal rules, which had failed to avert the schizophrenic crisis of 1861, proved no more of a match for the romantic imagination of postwar America.

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PLAYS BY MARYLANDERS, 1870-1916

COMPILED BY EDGAR HEYL

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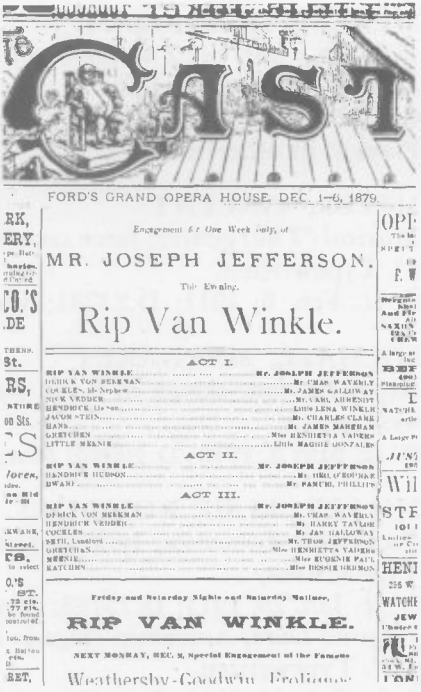
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Engagement for One Week only, of

MR. JOSEPH JEFFERSON.

This Evening,

Rip Van Winkle.

ACT I.

RIP VAN WINKLE	Mr. JOSEPH JEFFERSON
DERICK VON BERKMAN	Mr. CHAS. WAVERLY
COCKLES, his Nephew	Mr. JAMES GALLOWAY
NICK VEDDER	Mr. CARL ADRIENNE
HENDRICK, his son	Little LENA WINKLE
JACOB STEIN	Mr. CHARLES CLARK
HANS	Mr. JAMES MANEHAN
GRETCHEN	Miss HENRIETTA VAIDEN
LITTLE MEENIE	Little MAGGIE GONSALES

ACT II.

RIP VAN WINKLE	Mr. JOSEPH JEFFERSON
HENDRICK HUDSON	Mr. HIRL O'ROURKE
SWART	Mr. PANCHI PHILLIPS

ACT III.

RIP VAN WINKLE	Mr. JOSEPH JEFFERSON
DERICK VON BERKMAN	Mr. CHAS. WAVERLY
HENDRICK VEDDER	Mr. HARRY TAYLOR
COCKLES	Mr. JAS HALLOWAY
SETH, Landlord	Mr. THOS JEFFERSON
GRETCHEN	Miss HENRIETTA VAIDEN
MEENIE	Miss EUGENIE PAUL
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NEXT MONDAY, DEC. 8, Special Engagement of the Famous

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MARTIN, AUGUSTE, see GROSSI, ANGELO

MARTINETTI, PAUL

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NOTES ON THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY COLLECTIONS

By Ellen Lee Barker, Curator of Manuscripts

G. KRUG & SON, MAKERS OF ARTISTIC WROUGHT IRON WORK

The tons of raw iron which passed through the Northampton, Curtis Creek, and other Maryland furnaces and forges were the materiel of the ironworker, who, whether shoeing a horse, casting a pot, or creating a hotel façade, was a needed and respected craftsman for generations of Marylanders. While many artifacts of that trade are still in existence and use today, historians have lamented that recorded history of the craft is all but gone. Therefore, when the firm of G. Krug & Son donated its business records to the Society, the contribution to learning was indeed valuable. Over one hundred volumes consisting of letter books as well as account and order books (interspersed with exquisite drawings of finished work) were given by Mr. Theodore F. Krug, the third generation of his family to carry on the craft of ironworking in the center of Baltimore City.

Though the work day is now quite a bit shorter and the production rate a good deal higher, the company retains the atmosphere—as well as the Saratoga Street address—of the blacksmith, Andrew Merker, who hired a German immigrant, Gustav A. Krug, in 1848. The deal must have been a good one, for, one year later, the shop became A. Merker & Krug. By the time two more Krugs (Theodore F. and his uncle Gustav F.) had joined the firm, the name had graduated to G. Krug & Son, and the company was a thriving business by the time Theodore A. and the present Mr. Krug took command.

The collection of records [MS. 1756] presents a clear picture of Mr. Merker's later work as well as all work done by G. Krug & Son. The earliest volumes, 1841-49, most of which are scrawled in terse German, are the last records of Andrew Merker. As his proficiency in English increased, the records became a mixture of German and phonetically-spelled English. However, by the 1850's, when Gustav Krug was a full partner, all records are in

fairly clear English, and it is in this period that the company began its expansion and ascent, becoming, at the turn of the century, a major ornamental and architectural ironworks.

Shipping its work to many eastern and southern states, A. Merker & Krug (later G. Krug & Son) competed successfully with many other ironworks in both quantity and quality. Work was done on Baltimore's banks such as the Mercantile Trust, hospitals such as Johns Hopkins, hotels such as the Rennert, and clubs such as The University Club. G. Krug & Son provided a fence for the Baltimore Zoo and has done work twice for the Maryland Historical Society, once in the 1930's and again in 1968.

The most decorative work appears to be concentrated in the last decade of the 1800's and the first decade of the 1900's, when highly ornate architectural iron was most popular. There are thirteen letter books and ten large journals covering this twenty-year period of work; these journals contain the majority of drawings, which are done on tissue in sizes of one square inch to a square foot or more. These precise pen and ink drawings would be one of the more interesting aspects of the records for the layman, but for the professional they are only an accompaniment for detailed measurements, instructions, and prices.

The appeal of this collection is two-fold: it is a treasure of information for the craft or art historian, and it is an excellent study for the business historian because its records are consistent and have no appreciable gaps in a span of 122 years. It gives an architectural picture of a Baltimore that has almost vanished, and it shows a design that carried over into the way people lived. It also shows prospering businesses and industries stretching moneyed sinews throughout the city. It shows a rising population and a shrinking world.

In 1860, Gustav A. Krug arrived at work, as did many of his colleagues, wearing a top hat and riding in a carriage. He kept careful records and wondered how the impending war would affect his business. Today, those records are fortunately available to become history through the foresight of Theodore F. Krug, who arrives at work bare-headed and riding in an automobile. He wonders how interplanetary travel will affect his business!

GENEALOGICAL NOTES

By Mary K. Meyer

In earlier notes we have discussed a number of special indexes housed in the Society library, but perhaps the most useful index is the Wilkins File. This file takes its name from its creator, William N. Wilkins, a lawyer employed at the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad as commerce agent. His correspondence shows that he devoted his every spare moment of leisure time to the subject of genealogy. He was a genealogist's genealogist. His interest in the subject transcended his own family and embraced families in every part of the State.

Early in his career, as a family and professional genealogist, he realized the need for locating and making available to others the scattered and those difficult to locate records of the state. His earlier works included copying of Apprenticeship Indentures in Baltimore County, 1794-1799 and the Tax Lists of Baltimore County, 1692, 1694, 1696, 1699-1706, and 1773.

These in themselves might be considered by some Mr. Wilkins' ultimate feat, but he did not rest there. He started his massive Index. As the work progressed and others became aware of his project, a number of volunteers came to his aid. Some twenty persons assisted with the work at one time or another, always under Mr. Wilkins' careful direction. In this way he could maintain a standard form on all entries and the work progressed much more rapidly.

Entries in the Wilkins File include a complete name index to the following books which were not indexed (or were poorly indexed) at the time they were published:

J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County.* 2 vols. Philadephia, Lewis H. Everts, 1881.

J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore.* Baltimore, Turnbull Bros., 1874.

J. Thomas Scharf, *The History of Delaware.* 2 vols. Philadelphia, L. J. Peck & Co., 1881.

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Gaius Marcus Brumbaugh, *Maryland Records, Colonial, Revolutionary, County, and Church.* 2 vols. Baltimore, Williams & Wilkins Co., 1915-1928. (Reprint by Regional Publishing Co., Baltimore, 1968.)

In addition to indexes of all these books, the Wilkins File contains the 1850 census of Baltimore City, an index to the Nimmo Genealogical Collection (G 5042) and other miscellaneous records of genealogical importance.

While carrying on his ambitious indexing project, Mr. Wilkins also engaged in professional genealogical research. The results of his labors in this field were carefully preserved in folders, numbered 1 through 232, and indexed under the various family names in his master index. This collection (G 5072), along with his master index and other genealogical works, were accessioned by the Society after Mr. Wilkins' untimely death in 1959. The Wilkins File, containing a quarter of a million cards, remains a unique contribution to the world of genealogy and history as well as a monument to the man himself.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Divided Town: A Study of Georgetown, D.C. During the Civil War. By MARY MITCHELL. (Barre, Massachusetts: Barre Publishers, 1968. Pp. ix, 193. $8.50.)

The impact of the Civil War on various towns and cities has been the subject for a number of monographs, but many communities which merit studies have been ignored. In this brief sketch of Georgetown, Mrs. Mary Mitchell discusses some of the wartime changes and conditions in this charming old town. Already overshadowed by the rapidly growing national capital, Georgetown's annexation to Washington was being discussed before the war, and while the merger did not officially take place until 1871, Mrs. Mitchell maintains that it was during the conflict, when Georgetown was included in Washington's "defensive ring," that it lost its "isolation, . . . self-sufficiency and quiet," thus becoming "a part of Washington City." In this instance, as in so many others, the Civil War served to hasten a development already in the offing.

In many ways conditions in Georgetown did not differ appreciably from those in other border towns, for in all of these communities, and others as well, the residents were divided in their loyalties. The population was in a state of flux as many Southern sympathizers left for more friendly climes, and refugees representing all walks of life, together with contrabands, arrived in large numbers. Housing shortages developed and resulted in overcrowding and ever-increasing rents, problems which were further magnified when buildings were commandeered for military use. In general, business flourished, but while some citizens made fortunes, many endured hardships in consequence of wartime inflation. Young men marched off to join the "cause" they espoused, leaving behind loved ones to worry and often to mourn. Like all other communities, Georgetown experienced the psychological effects of the war—tension, fear, hatred, suspicion, and distrust of old friends as well as strangers.

The slave-holding citizens of Georgetown were required to free their Negroes and wade through the endless red tape of applying for compensation even before President Lincoln announced the Emancipation Proclamation, and in discussing the procedures and problems, Mrs. Mitchell makes a very real contribution to understanding the complicated process. It is, however, unfortunate that she said, "Few people realize" that slaves were freed in the District of Columbia before Lincoln's proclamation, for students of history

are cognizant of this, and a simple statement of fact would have sufficed.

Divided City: A Study of Georgetown, D.C. During the Civil War has two major weaknesses, one being too great an emphasis on a few figures and families and too much space given to their prewar activities. It is often difficult to see the city for the individuals. The other weakness is the superficial handling or complete omission of several aspects of Georgetown's wartime history. The author wanted this to be an "authentic picture" of the community, and it is "authentic" up to a point. She also noted that the study "does not pretend to be exhaustive," and it isn't. However, since she touches, for example, on various forms of lawlessness, it seems she was obligated to "tell all." Numerous problems for society and the military developed with the increase of prostitution in the environs of Washington, Richmond and military installations, and newspapers make frequent references to it. Margaret Leech, in *Reveille in Washington,* cited the Washington *Star* as saying that there were at least 5000 prostitutes in the capital "and half as many more in Georgetown and Alexandria" (p. 261), yet no mention is made of them in this study. In fairness to Mrs. Mitchell, it must be noted that she did say in the preface that she "heard" of the police records in the National Archives just as she "terminated" her research and realized that if she perused them it "would have broadened the sociological value of the book, but [would] also have delayed its completion." This reviewer regrets that the author did not choose to broaden the study to include social problems and activities, and to give greater attention to the charitable and philanthropic endeavors of the citizenry.

Of lesser importance, and probably more offensive to the historian than to the general reader, are the generalizations, occasional lack of objectivity, minor errors in fact, and dubious comparisons of individuals of the 1860's with those of the 1960's. More amusing than irritating is the statement that Provost Marshal Lafayette Baker was "the J. Edgar Hoover of his day," for this can scarcely be construed as a compliment to Mr. Hoover since Baker was engaged in many questionable activities and has not faired well at the hands of historians.

Mrs. Mitchell frequently reminds the reader that source materials were lacking, but many are probably fugitive. Apparently she did not go outside of the District of Columbia in search of materials, and there is no evidence that she made use of collections in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress.

Despite the book's weaknesses, it is charmingly written, exceedingly interesting, and well-documented, with explanatory footnotes placed

at the end of each chapter. It is beautifully illustrated and well-indexed. Anyone wishing to know more about Georgetown will be sure to learn much about the community during wartime and before.

Winthrop College MARY ELIZABETH MASSEY

Reconstructing the Union: Theory and Policy during the Civil War. By HERMAN BELZ. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press for the American Historical Association, 1969. Pp. ix, 336. $8.50.)

For some little while now historians have been considering "reconstruction" as a process and a question of policy, both of which originated in 1861, though the makers of textbooks can probably never be weaned away from "Reconstruction" as a label for the period commencing with Lee's surrender. The treatment of wartime reconstruction has been rather skimpy, however, and the present volume, for which Mr. Belz won the American Historical Association's Beveridge Award in 1966, is welcome indeed. The author sees the origins of thought about reconstruction in the war-aims resolutions of the war's first long hot summer. He traces the development of both presidential and congressional views in exhaustive detail, with considerable attention to proposed bills which have heretofore been overlooked. One such, an 1861 measure which implied that Dixie would face a period of military government under congressional control prior to readmission, seems to foreshadow the Reconstruction Acts of 1867. As expected, there is a thoroughgoing analysis of the 1864 Wade-Davis bill, which Belz sees not as a response to Lincoln's plan, but as a logical outcome of congressional thought since the start of the war. His point that it dealt with states and not persons is quite wrong, however, for the heart of the bill was, after all, a loyalty oath.

Some legislators desired to reconstruct by regarding the states as having lapsed or been demoted into territorial status—a concept to which Belz attaches the handy if graceless label "territorialization." He identifies anti-slavery sentiment, plus the fact that territorial status was a traditional step in the state-making process, as chief elements in support of the concept.

Because of his subject Belz can hardly avoid entering the ongoing semantic sweepstakes over the meaning of the term "radical." He clearly feels (in company with other writers) that radicalism changed somehow as the war progressed. But the nature and meaning of this change is not made sufficiently clear. He notes, for instance, that the radicals first emphasized territorialization as the main ingredient of their philosophy, but later shifted the emphasis to emancipation.

Yet his failure to see that one is essentially a means and the other essentially an end leaves the subject still in shadow.

The conclusion of the book is rather a letdown. It amounts to little more than the standard shopworn criticism of Andrew Johnson for permitting things to happen that Lincoln would not have. True, executive-legislative relations are a major part of the author's subject, but one still gets the feeling that the final pages are a hurried and not very insightful kind of "oh-by-the-way" tacked onto a work of substantially good quality.

The book has been thoroughly researched from a variety of sources. The *Congressional Globe* and a selection of newspapers are bulwarks—of solidarity in the author's evidence and of unrelieved dreariness in his writing. Four pages of continuous narration of newspaper editorials is too much. There is a good bibliographical essay and a useful index. Trying to predict the viable life span of a monograph in the Civil War field is often an adventure in futility, but notwithstanding its little slips and slides, I suspect this one will reach a fairly ripe old age.

San Fernando Valley State College JAMES E. SEFTON

For the Union: Ohio Leaders in the Civil War. Edited by KENNETH W. WHEELER. (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1968. Pp. viii, 497. $10.00.)

The purpose of this collection of essays is to draw attention to citizens of Ohio, who, although significant figures during the Civil War, have in some respects been given scant attention by historians. At least this was so when the volume was conceived as a publication of the Ohio Civil War Centennial Commission.

Overall, the selections are competent, if undistinguished. Frank L. Klement offers a straightforward narrative of Clement L. Vallandigham, but unfortunately tells us little that is new about the Ohio Democrat and Copperhead. His arrest and exile does call into question the proper limits of dissent during wartime. Probably he was less a traitor than an extreme example of static politics. When the nation is in mortal danger, the time is not propitious for the doctrinaire. Two justly famous Ohio newspapermen, Whitelaw Reid and Murat Halstead, are discussed by Robert Huhn Jones and Donald Curl, respectively. Jones' account consists almost entirely of copious quotations from Reid's reports of campaigns, especially Shiloh (where he made his reputation) and Gettysburg. As for Halstead, despite his undeniable gifts as a newspaperman, Curl seems to attribute too much political influence to him. Mary Land's study of Ben Wade is traditional and suffers from slight understanding of

the military and political problems facing Wade's most eminent antagonist, President Lincoln. James B. Bell offers an interesting sketch of an Ohio minister, Charles P. McIlvaine, and Harvey Wish contributes a sometimes humorous, often disorganized essay on Artemus Ward and Petroleum V. Nasby, or, more accurately, their creators, Charles Farrar Browne and David Ross Locke.

Jeannette P. Nichol's essay on John Sherman reminds us of the need for a full-scale study of this Ohio lawmaker. Perhaps his long and multi-faceted career frightens away would-be biographers. Mrs. Nichols' description of Sherman's part in Civil War financial legislation is illuminating and convincing. She strikes an apologetic note in describing the senator's dislike of Lincoln. (The Ohioans in this book were not too impressed with Lincoln.) He blamed the President for Union reverses in the early part of the war and in fact opposed his renomination in 1864. Sherman, as was true of many of his contemporaries, did not appreciate Lincoln until after his assassination. Sherman seemed to harbor a guilty conscience about this, but after all, many ambitious men hankered after Lincoln's office in 1864 and thus exploited war weariness to the full. This is common in the history of the American presidency.

Allan Peskin presents James A. Garfield as personifying the best in the political general. Garfield held himself in high regard and in fact proved to be a good officer, energetic and possessed of the managerial ability so necessary in a modern army. He early became convinced that West Pointers were conniving to lose the war or at least were contributing to defeat through caution and conservative tactics. This may have been simple frustration speaking, but, according to Peskin, Garfield shared Lincoln's understanding of the political implications of a war in a democracy and for this reason deemed certain political generals as superior to their West Point counterparts. This is a pertinent and valid point but Peskin lets his thesis get the best of his judgment. "A civil war is not a military exercise. It is the result of a breakdown in the political process, and can only be cured, as Garfield realized, by a political solution." (p. 114) This is doubtful under any circumstances and in the case of the American Civil War breathtakingly erroneous. Lincoln's greatest frustration was his long search for a general (political or otherwise) who would go forward and destroy the Confederate *army*. Garfield himself, urging an attack on Bragg in 1863, wrote: "Our true objective point is the Rebel army, whose last reserves are substantially in the field, and an effective blow will crush the shell, and soon to be followed by the collapse of the Rebel government." (p. 105) Of course, one might argue that the ultimate war aim was political, but this could come only after the rebel army was crushed.

This criticism does not negate the value of Peskin's essay and his biography of Garfield, now in progress, will no doubt contribute to our understanding of Civil War politics.

The best essay in the book is Carl Becker's biographical sketch of Miles Greenwood, a Cincinati industrialist. More than an account of his Civil War years, the essay traces the rise to power of this pioneer entrepreneur, his triumph as a manufacturer of war material and his demise during the new industrial era of the Gilded Age. Becker skillfully describes the early industrial development of a key western city, and delineates the character and personality of an ambitious and talented man. Perhaps Professor Becker will favor us with a more extensive study of this munitions maker (although he was much more than that) who did well by doing good.

Professor Wheeler apparently belongs to the "unobtrusive school" of editing, since there is no visible evidence that he edited at all.

Kent State University JOHN T. HUBBELL

The South and the Sectional Conflict. By DAVID M. POTTER. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968. Pp. xi, 321. $7.50.)

For over a century, historians have debated the cause of the Civil War. Revisionists and antirevisionists, traditionalists and neonationalists, have systematically bisected all of the factors that led a nation to attempt suicide. Although this historical controversy remains unresolved, a trio of scholars has emerged as the most authoritative spokesmen on this subject. They are: Avery O. Craven, Kenneth M. Stampp and David M. Potter.

Craven and Stampp view the antebellum South from opposite poles. Their interpretations of the same events are so contrasting that Craven's *The Coming of the Civil War* and Stampp's *And the War Came* are often paired and made required reading in graduate seminars on the Middle Period of American history. Potter's position in this unending battle might be characterized as to the right of center. He does not accept the revisionist theses of the Stampp school, and he rejects the more radical tenets of the Craven traditionalists. In short, Potter presents a clear view of both sides by traveling interestingly down the broad middle road.

Potter's leading work to date was a 1942 study, *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis.* Students desirous of using Potter's equally valuable articles have had to consult a variety of periodicals and anthologies. This search no longer exists, thanks to a new volume that contains ten reprinted essays plus a new monograph. A comprehensive index gives cohesion to a work that brings to-

gether and in sharp focus a large share of Potter's incisive thoughts on the antebellum South.

The eleven articles are divided under three general headings: "The Nature of Southernism," "Three Historical Forays," and "The Crisis of the Union." Five of the monographs are historiographical rather than historical; in them, Potter concentrates more on the conclusions of various historians than on the facts from which the conclusions were drawn. Repudiating a fellow historian's theses is not a recommended way to win friends, but Potter's approach is so careful and objective that only the most sensitive scholar could object to his evaluations.

The remaining articles treat of John Brown, Horace Greeley, prewar Republicans, Jefferson Davis, the Civil War and its comparison to the modern world, and provocative essay ("The Historian's Use of Nationalism and Vice Versa") in which Potter contrasts the dualisms and antitheses swirling still around any study of Civil War causation.

While Southern chauvinists may take offense at some of Potter's statements, no one can deny that this valuable collection of essays reflects nobly the thirty-six years of scholarly research and academic pursuit of a Georgian who has become one of America's most distinguished historians.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute JAMES I. ROBERTSON, JR.

Yankee Admiral: A Biography of David Dixon Porter. By PAUL LEWIS. (New York: David McKay Company, 1968. Pp. 120. $4.95.)

Mr. Lewis has written a pleasant, folksy, and rather superficial account of the life of Admiral Porter. The narrative character of the book, with its emphasis on action, should have an appeal for boys and others who have little knowledge of the sea and the evolution of naval warfare. Those who desire deeper analysis, critical appraisal, and adequate documentation (there are neither footnotes nor bibliography) must seek elsewhere.

The book is marred by two obvious errors. Admiral Porter is credited with the innovation of the use of massed gunfire (pp. 116 and 122) and the ". . . invention of a new technique of warfare. . . ." combined amphibious operations (p. 159). The first, of course, is only an application of concentration, a principle of war practiced by all successful commanders. The second, would surely have surprised the officers of the Royal Navy who participated in the combined operations at Aboukir (1801) and Quebec (1759) to say nothing of Admiral Porter's superiors at Vera Cruz.

The standard account of the life of Admiral Porter remains Richard West's *The Second Admiral,* but this popular account should reach a wider audience and bring deserved recognition to Porter's distinguished contributions to the United States and its navy.

U.S. Naval Academy PHILIP WARKEN

Woodrow Wilson: The Early Years. By GEORGE C. OSBORN. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968. Pp. ix, 345. $10.)

Biography is the most tantalizing of all forms of historical writing. Focused on the narrow world of one man, it provides a series of glimpses into the society in which he lived, yet is unable to do more than cast a quick glance before returning to the main subject. Thus, to make biography both meaningful and readable requires substantial skill as a writer, as well as extensive knowledge of the period covered by the study.

The now familiar picture of Wilson—stubborn, deeply religious, hard-working, and aloofly idealistic—is drawn in detail as these qualities develop during his adolescence and young manhood. But one is also struck by the remarkable tenderness of his relationship with his wife, both before and after their marriage, and by Wilson's myopic preoccupation with politics. Wilson's political aspirations took hold early in life, and he pursued them with unusual single-mindedness. The social and economic problems of the late nineteenth century apparently did not exist in the world of Woodrow Wilson. He studied law only because he thought it afforded the best path to political success, and as Osborn shows (in spite of a misleadingly titled chapter, "Failure at Law") Wilson left his law practice because of boredom, not any lack of success. His decision to enter the academic world via the Johns Hopkins seminar came from his belief that the academic world provided the second-best means of achieving political office. The four most interesting and informative chapters, dealing with Wilson as teacher, educator, historian, and author, are effective. Each stands alone, almost like a separate article, although the division between the four is often artificial.

Unhappily, Professor Osborn's skill as a writer leaves something to be desired. Only rarely does he make Wilson come alive, and for the most part reading the book approaches being a chore. Nor does he display that essential skill for all biographers, the ability succinctly to recreate the atmosphere of the period so that the subject's life is related to his era. Were it not for the dates in the footnotes, one would never know that Wilson grew up and matured in the world of

Jay Gould, Standard Oil, and the mugwumps. Granted, Wilson himself seems to have lacked any interest in social or economic affairs, but the stage still needs to be properly set. Some of Osborn's conclusions also leave the reader perplexed. The statement that "Wilson differed from most post-Civil War southerners of his generation in that he actually opposed many Jeffersonian principles" (p. 51) seems to ignore the makeup of the Bourbon aristocracy. Equally questionable is the sentence which follows: "Only after years of reading, study, and writing would he tear himself away from that Hamiltonianism." At times there is too much searching for the Wilson of 1916 in the Wilson of twenty years earlier. Osborn finds one of Wilson's orations at the University of Virginia, in which he attacked partisan party politics, as a foreshadowing of later days —yet no president proved more partisan than Wilson. Most disappointing is the total lack of information on Wilson's view of America's role in the world community, yet in spite of that void, Wilson is labelled as a man who had been converted to internationalism.

More disturbing, however, than any shortcomings the author might have as a writer is the remarkable similarity of this book to volume one of Ray S. Baker's *Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters.* At best, Osborn's study is little more than a synthesis of a book written forty years ago.

The University of Georgia WARREN F. KIMBALL

Ray Stannard Baker: A Quest for Democracy in Modern America 1870-1918. By JOHN E. SEMONCHE (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1969. Pp. ix, 350. $8.95.)

Although Ray Stannard Baker's life of seventy-six years took him to 1946, Professor Semonche has ended this biography in 1918 when Baker became involved in the problems of peacemaking. After World War I, according to the author, Baker became essentially an historian and biographer. Although the assertion that there were "typical" journalist-progressives, like any such generalization, makes one uneasy, yet one is struck by the similarity of Baker's experiences and reactions to those of his colleagues (especially Lincoln Steffens) including the boyhood and college days. It is Semonche's thesis that Baker's early life and career as a journalist is representative of the tensions that the typical journalist-progressive had to resolve within himself, conflicts representative of general social problems spawned by an increasingly industrialized nation. Semonche believes that Baker's attempt to "come to terms with the twentieth century"

made him a "sensitive barometer of his times." In a sense Baker's transition is one which society also had to make. He had a great capacity for growth; changed his mind when new evidence became available; believed that consistency was not a virtue.

When Baker was four his father moved to St. Croix Falls, Wisconsin, to direct a real estate venture. Baker grew up with the frontier. He loved nature and yet thought St. Croix Falls too confining. While Baker was attending college in East Lansing his father attempted to persuade him to make his future in the land office. Baker, respectful of his father's wishes, tried to comply, but found himself pulled to Chicago and the beginnings of a reporting career. Excited and stimulated by the urban life of Chicago and, later, New York, Baker continued to feel the need to return to his family in East Lansing or, later, in Amherst, where he could renew his spirit by hiking through the countryside.

Another biography, *Ray Stannard Baker: The Mind and Thought of a Progressive* (1966), by Robert C. Bannister, Jr., covers essentially the same ground, but of necessity less completely because the volume encompasses Baker's entire life.

Semonche does well in describing the major phases of Baker's career as a reporter, giving a feeling for subject matter and the causes, assignments, and interests which brought Baker's articles into being. Baker's autobiographical *Native American* (1941) and *American Chronicle* (1945) demonstrate that there was a remarkable congruity between the Baker in print, and the private thoughts that he confided to the journals and letters so skillfully woven into the narrative by Semonche. There is no new interpretation of Baker here but rather a sensitive, expanded portrait of the man who was what he said he was. Semonche is at his best when he explains how Baker grappled with difficult social problems. "Though he never wavered in his faith in democracy," writes Semonche, "Baker realized that its continued vitality depended upon the ability to adjust its demands to the industrialized and urbanized society of the twentieth century."

University of Alabama, Huntsville JOHN STUART BELTZ

Quakers and Politics: Pennsylvania, 1681-1726. By GARY B. NASH. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968. Pp. xii, 362. $8.50.)

This interesting work which attempts to correlate "unexplored economic and social data with political events" provides a fresh and fascinating analysis of society in early Pennsylvania. Professor Nash's major concern expresses itself in his interpretation of the "agonizing

struggle for political stability and maturity" that tore Pennsylvania for nearly half a century after its founding. As he examines the social process, Nash paints a vivid picture of the "spirit of defiance" and "mood of alienation from established authority"— showing how these developed and produced great instability and strife in early Pennsylvania.

On the whole the book is a very good one, although the reviewer is left with several unanswered questions. Has Professor Nash relied too fully on the economic and social data, to the exclusion of some religious factors? Was there any ongoing effect of the Wilkinson-Story schism expressing itself in these early Pennsylvania problems? Why did the author ignore the great anti-slavery efforts among certain Pennsylvania Quakers from 1688 to 1718? Are they not, in some way, related to his general treatment? What was George Keith's effect in colonies other than Pennsylvania? Does this have anything to say about the author's thesis? Why does the author (whose claim to widespread usage of manuscript material is clearly stated) make no use of Quaker manuscript records of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and Philadelphia Monthly Meeting (except as cited in one or two secondary works)?

One minor point, of special interest to Maryland readers, is the author's statement that "the Society of Friends had sent Josiah Coale to the Susquehanna Valley as early as 1660 to investigate the possibilities of a Quaker settlement there." Actually, Josiah Coale (on his way from Maryland to New England, and using the "back door" to Massachusetts since no ship captain could bring Quakers into that colony) was entrusted with advising *Maryland* Quakers to buy land from the Indians and remove themselves "beyond Baltimore's Liberty" and the persecution they were experiencing in Maryland.

Southern Methodist University KENNETH L. CARROLL

The Fast Carriers: The Forgoing of an Air Navy. By CLARK G. REYNOLDS. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1968. Pp. xvi, 498, $12.50.)

Clark Reynolds' *The Fast Carriers* is an important book. It is a substantial contribution to the literature on the Pacific-naval phase of World War II. More importantly, it historically restores the friction in the Navy's high command occasioned by the new primacy of the fast carrier task force. This controversy, reflected in the reorganization of the Fleet, in strategy, and in personnel assignments, was as real as the Imperial Japanese Navy.

Professor Reynolds will have none of the institutional solidarity

which characterizes Samuel Eliot Morison's semi-official history of naval operations in World War II. His judgments on the Navy's top commanders in the Pacific, especially Admiral Raymond A. Spruance, are iconoclastic. His criticisms cannot be dismissed out of hand, for they are based on careful research and are also apparently the opinions of Task Force 58/38's carrier task group commanders, especially Admiral J. J. Clark.

The author's thesis is that the wartime Navy was uncommonly slow to accept the combat potential of the fast carrier task force. This intellectual lag was the result of naval doctrinal education, which trained officers to seek decisive fleet action by long-range gunfire. This dogma was challenged only through the slow ascent of naval aviators into the highest command and policy-influencing positions. By tracing the operations of Task Force 58/38, Professor Reynolds shows how naval aviators (as their patron saint, Admiral William A. Moffett, a non-aviator, urged them) took over the Navy, defeated the Japanese, and made naval aviation a strategic jack-of-all-trades.

For Professor Reynolds the "heroes" of the Pacific war were the aviation admirals and their carrier divisions, a "band of brothers" following a dual-Nelson, Admirals John Towers and Marc Mitscher. Like other assertive naval sub-cultures who rose to prominence in World War II (the Marines and the submariners), the naval aviators had their paranoid moments, and this book reflects the ready room dicta that to understand air strategy one must wear wings of gold. Yet Professor Reynolds understands it just from the archives and his interviews.

Specifically, Professor Reynolds questions Spruance's conduct of the Battle of the Philippine Sea, rightfully censures Admiral Halsey's performance as Third Fleet commander, and occasionally snipes at the CNO, Admiral King, and CINCPAC, Admiral Nimitz, as lukewarm carrier warfare advocates. On the last point, however, Reynolds concludes that the Navy's carrier effort did not suffer from administrative or logistical foot-dragging. In a Fleet that went from 6 to 119 carriers in five years this would have been difficult to argue.

A stimulating and sound book, *The Fast Carriers* still deserves a couple of stern shots. First, Professor Reynolds identifies cliques of officers, arranged by their commitment to naval aviation, that appear artificial. Personality, temperament, training, and level of responsibility rather than Academy class or age on becoming an NA seems a more adequate explanation of the admirals' behavior. The three most obvious failures in Task Force 58/38 averaged 34 when they put on wings; the most successful division commanders (F. C. Sherman, J. J. Clark, J. W. Reeves, A. E. Montgomery, and G. W. Bogan)

averaged 37. Most of the admirals were relative "latecomers" to naval aviation except Admiral Towers.

The other demur is stylistic: Professor Reynolds' habit of using naval nicknames. In Admiral Clark's *Carrier Admiral* (co-authored by Reynolds) the wardroom and officers club cliches and monikers seemed natural. In this book they are superficial familiarities.

Basically, *The Fast Carriers* is an entertaining, well-written, broadly researched, and intelligently conceived book. Hopefully, it will not only receive a wide reading by students of naval warfare, but will encourage other academics to plunge into reappraisals of World War II, as event and written history.

The Ohio State University ALLAN R. MILLETT

ST. PAUL'S PARISH BALTIMORE. A Chronicle of the Mother Church. By FRANCIS F. BEIRNE. (St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, 1967, Pp. 288. $5.95.)

"Ah, it was great at the Chapel in the Old Days," reminisced a worthy east Baltimore matron. "We never had services at the Chapel on Christmas or Easter afternoons, but the whole family went together to St. Paul's up in town. After the Afternoon Service they would provide a treat of ice cream and cake. The children also came home with presents, sometimes a sweater for the girls, and often shoes for the boys. It was nice, too, in those days at the Chapel, because it was always warm in winter—St. Paul's always provided the winter's coal for the Chapel. I sometimes wondered what those grand ladies thought about the mobs of us, what with the nursing babies and squalling children being so loud that you couldn't hear the nice music the boys had been taught to sing."

St. Paul's Church in the Parish of Baltimore City and County very early joined the throng of well-to-do congregations in America's large cities at the turn of the century when men and women of means began to assume a social conscience—albeit theirs was a conscience of *noblesse oblige*—in recognizing a Christian Responsibility for their less provident neighbors by providing Christian Churches and Settlement Houses for the well behaved.

In his inimitably kindly fashion Mr. Bierne has traced the development of St. Paul's Parish from its colonial foundations to the present day without a hint of the careful research which underlies the tale—no ugly footnotes mar the pages of delightful print.

But many of the trials of existence are noted, though one misses the heat of battle found in the original documents which tell of the encounters between the Reverend Doctors Wyatt or Johns or of the

fulminations of the Reverend George Dashiel, but many of the anecdotes of that very anecdotal Kinsolving family are included. The work of St. Paul's among the poor is fascinating, but one would appreciate a comparison with the work carried on by such other well-to-do parishes as St. George's, New York or St. Luke and The Epiphany, Philadelphia during the same period to get a fairer and broader picture of American Christianity.

As a souvenir of a great anniversary this book is one to keep and cherish. It is of interest for Old St. Paul's former parishioners to keep in their living room book case, to bring out to prove to the visiting rector that one's ancestors, who are all mentioned in it, were very famous, philanthropic people. This is very valuable at the time of the Every Member Canvass. But as a history of the life of St. Paul's Parish, the book raises as many questions in the mind of the reader as it solves. Why was it, that despite its pride in the many famous patriots buried in its graveyard, never could sufficient funds be found to honour its dead by keeping their graves in order? Why was it, that despite its pride in the title "Mother Church," St. Paul's continued to be so parochial minded as to prevent its aided parishes from removing the apron strings in order to achieve an independent status as a parish. St. Paul's is possibly the only colonial parish which still claims to hold its original, or near original, boundaries. Why did St. Paul's, like so many other colonial parishes, dispose of its glebe lands at the first sign of financial stringency rather than to hold on to such lands and develop them as did Trinity Church, Wall Street, New York. We look in vain for such far-sighted policy making on the part of the rectors and vestrymen of Baltimore's oldest parish.

NELSON WAITE RIGHTMYER
Historiographer of the Diocese of Maryland

CIVIL WAR BOOKS: A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY. By ALLAN NEVINS, JAMES I. ROBERTSON, JR. and BELL I. WILEY, eds., [(Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, two vols.), Vol. I (ix, 278 pp. [1967]), Vol. II (ix, 326 pp. [1969]). $11.50 each, $20 the set.]

"The Civil War," the editors of this monumental work remind us, "has been the subject of more publications than any other episode in American history." Their informed guess is that the total of books, pamphlets, and monographs alone reaches, to date, some sixty thousand titles. Between them, these two volumes list some fifty-three hundred titles. So it may safely be said that the present

project has done more than scratch the surface: it has gouged it. The life blood now streaming out will, for decades, be reinvigorating to any serious student of the field.

This is a co-operative endeavor among seventeen scholars, all but one of them a professor of American history specializing in the period. Each has assembled the titles for one of fifteen broad topics ("Military Aspects," "The Negro," et al.) allotted equally between Union and Confederacy, and therein listed his titles alphabetically by author. For each title the Library of Congress file card is reproduced, with the editor's annotation below. Readers may be thankful that these annotations attempt to do more than categorize the item; in a very few words, they evaluate it. Given conventional academic restraint, some of these evaluations are refreshing. For example, of one book the critique reads: "This potpourri of inadequate and sometimes erratic material substantiates anew that women do not make good military historians" (I, p. 179); of another, "Propaganda literature for the 1872 presidential race; as such, totally unreliable and unbelievably slanted," (II, p. 73).

The cumulative index (II, pp. 249-326), prepared by Professor Robertson, seems to this reviewer just about all that could be asked. It is nominal, topical, short-title repetitive, cross-referenced, and the lengthier entries carry subtopics. It is easy to find anything here treating Maryland or Baltimore!

The work's limitations have been spelled out by its compilers. It does not list magazine articles, manuscripts, academic theses, or creative items (fiction, verse, etc.). Moreover, the editors confess (II, p. v): "That Volume II falls 600 titles short of the 3,000 predicted in the beginning is attributable to one factor: the disappointingly few studies in the areas of government and politics, North and South. Obviously, much work remains to be done in those fields. . . ." And, of course, at the instant that the second and concluding volume issued from the press, the set itself—owing to the endless onrush of Civil War literature—was already out of date. But a doughty beginning has been made. What an awesome, Olympian overview of our American history!

Baltimore CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

Castings From the Foundry Mold, A History of Foundry Church, Washington, D. C., 1814-1964. By HOMER L. CALKIN. (Nashville, Tennessee: The Parthenon Press, 1968. Pp. 377, $6.25.)

In 1814 Henry Foxall, a Methodist layman and the owner of Columbia Foundry in Georgetown, purchased property in Washington, D. C. on which was established Foundry Chapel. The name

Foundry was chosen in honor of John Wesley's first church, The Foundry in London.

In the one hundred and fifty-four years since its founding the church has had several locations but has retained its original name. Homer L. Calkin, a current member of Foundry Methodist Church, has attempted to describe "the struggle, the successes, the failures, and the programs," of the Church and to note the impact of Foundry Church "on social problems and reform movements."

The author has consulted a variety of sources including church minutes, conference records, the papers and sermons of prominent Methodists who have been associated with Foundry Church, numerous secular and religious newspapers, and assorted diaries and memoirs. The narrative is replete with quotations from the sources but these quotations are not documented. In the Note on Sources (p. 356) it is explained that "several copies of the book have been fully annotated" and "are on deposit with" the Methodist Historical Society of the Baltimore Annual Conference, Lovely Lane Methodist Church in Baltimore, The Library of the Wesley Theological Seminary, The Columbia Historical Society, Washington Public Library, and Foundry Methodist Church.

The presentation is chronological; sketches of the Church's more than fifty pastors and their accomplishments together with a discussion of the financial problems of the Church constitute the major portion of this study. This method of presentation becomes repetitious and prevents an adequate discussion of the role of Methodism in the nation's capitol on a number of vital topics. Foundry Church has had an abiding interest in missions and there is evidence that it has had a sensitive ecumenical spirit, but these aspects of its history have not been drawn together for the most effective portrayal. Other issues which influenced the development of the church in the United States receive less attention. The attitude of Methodism in the District of Columbia concerning the denominational split, which occurred in the 1840's, and the subsequent reunion a century later is not discussed. The interests of Foundry Church in education is mentioned but not developed. Was this congregation indifferent or passive to the development of Methodist higher education in the Washington area? Was the race issue, which has stirred the Methodist Church and American society for two centuries, of no more consequence to Foundry Church than the few references found in this volume? Did the institutional church program, which was fully developed in many metropolitian areas by the close of the nineteenth century, completely by-pass Foundry Church? The Methodist Episcopal Church was in the forefront of the social gospel movement and its social creed, which was adopted at the 1908 General

Conference, was a landmark in social Christianity. Foundry Church seems to have been isolated from this phase of church concern.

The reader looks in vain for a discussion of the relationship of the Foundry congregation to the crucial issues of American Church history over the past century and a half. Instead he is informed when various visiting clergymen preached, what and how well the congregation sang, what the weather was like that day, and when some foreign dignitary or prominent politician worshipped with the congregation, etc., etc., etc.

University of Richmond W. HARRISON DANIEL

NOTES AND QUERIES

Conjectural drawing of the 1821 courthouse of Port Tobacco based on archeological findings.
Drawing by J. Richard Rivoire.

Information Needed: The Port Tobacco Restoration Society would deeply appreciate any information about the first courthouse and other structures standing in Port Tobacco during the 18th and 19th Centuries. The Restoration Society is offering a cash reward of up to $500.00 for 1819-1892 Courthouse photographs. The amount paid will depend on our architect's evaluation of any photograph found with respect to the amount of detail gained by him for precise drafting of final reconstruction plans. Please address replies to

John M. Wearmouth
Star Route 2
La Plata, Maryland 20646

Information Needed: Being a descendant of the Stockett family, I would like to know if anyone has the knowledge of extant Stockett family portraits. In the inventory of Thomas Stockett, 1762, are listed four family portraits also the inventory of his widow, Elizabeth, 1763; in the inventory of Thomas Stockett, 1775, are listed two family portraits. Please write:

Harry Wright Newman,
1830 R St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Information Needed: Information leading to location of old French Bible handed down in the Randall family showing descent of James Ryder Randall, author of *Maryland My Maryland,* from Rene Le Blanc, the "gentle notary" of *Evangeline* fame. Reference is made to this Bible in *James Ryder Randall* by Matthew Page Anderson in 1910.

Mary K. Meyer
Rt. 10, Box 138-A
Pasadena, Maryland 21122

Information Needed: Mary Ann COZINE owned adjoining lots 225 and 241, Area S, in Baltimore Cemetery and was buried with her husband and children (disaster?) in one of these lots on June 8, 1853. Junius Booth, Sr. was buried in one of these lots on January 11, 1853 and was removed to Green Mount Cemetery together with a large monument on June 19, 1869. Baltimore City directory for 1851 lists Junius Booth (actor) living at 62 Exeter Street and Mary Ann Cozine, (only Cozine in Directory) living at 97 Ensor Street. There was no City Directory published for 1852, but the 1853-54 editions show Mary Ann Cozine living at 367 N. Gay Street. Who was Mary Ann Cozine, and what was her relationship with Junius Brutus Booth, Sr.? Was she an actress and a friend? Booth's wife was Mary Ann Holmes, who died October 22, 1885 and was buried next to him at Green Mount Cemetery.

Mr. L. H. Denton
The Baltimore Area Convention & Visitors Council, Inc.
102-104 St. Paul Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21202

COVER: Charles Calvert, Third Lord Baltimore. 1630-1715.
Courtesy of The Enoch Pratt Free Library.

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Names of authors and titles of papers and original documents printed in the *Magazine* are set in capitals. Titles of books reviewed or cited are set in italics.